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General Note Book

N: XI

Begun May 1, 1930

Richard B. Gage

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Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

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Abbreviations

N.V.R. : non-violent resistance

∴ = therefore

vs = against or versus

K & G = kingdom of God

Apr May 1, 1930.

Note from Galworth's "The Island
Pharoses".

p. 233. --- "Why it was that people
take more interest in some than in
human beings - one could do it
with a quiet heart." [Is this
why some people go in for reviews? (Ksq)]

Some people can't make a success
because they can't be stable & take
a pride in what they do "because
they have too strong a faculty of
criticism".

--- "To people of his class the use
of kindness was a luxury, not
significant of sacrifice, but production
of a pleasant feeling in the heart,
such as massage will set up in
the legs. " --- "It is sweet, from a
position of security, to watch the

sufferings of others: it gives one a good
 vibration in the heart."

Gandhi's whole career may be looked
 upon as educating Indians into the
 understanding and practice of Non-violent
 resistance. ~~In 1920~~ The pupil has rebelled
 & been slow to learn, but events have
 aided Mrs. Gandhi, - chiefly the foolish-
 ness of the British Gov't. The pupil
 rebelled in 1920. Now in 1930 I think the
 teaching will be successful.

Engaging in parliamentary legislative
 tactics is like ^{drinking} alcoholic liquor. It
 creates illusions, stimulates the ego,

debases the morals, and leaves all parties worse than before. Rsq.

N. V. R. ~~is~~, compared with parliamentary methods of reform, is more direct, simpler (i.e. better understood by the ignorant masses), more potent, more responsible, calling for higher discipline and unselfishness & devotion & purity, less subject to being diverted by evil forces in the darkness of legislative committee rooms of diplomatic or bureaucratic intrigue, more prompt in action, more easily applicable to every situation, more likely to lead to ultimate mutual respect and real fundamental agreement of all parties, a more rigid test & proof of sincerity more true, more real in method & in result.

Work out the psychology of
the sentiment of a dr towards
his cr.

Bayer's organization of NVR
(non-violent resistance) will perhaps
enable men to save themselves
from the growing economic slavery
produced by the capture of science
by the governing class. It will
enable men to progress morally &
regain control of his group life &
catch up with the progress of
science.

I must realize that once I get
into farming I will have little
energy or leisure for writing. So
do what I can in these next
few months. Then devote the

with 25 yrs to life of a householder,
To passing on my ^{realization} ~~realization~~
to self-realization, Sadhana.
after that — we will see.

Medicine Closet

1. Sodium bicarb.
2. vaseline
3. zinc ointment
4. Potassium permanganate
5. Boracic acid powder & crystals
6. ~~Castor oil & lime water~~
6. Something for leucis, Argentine
7. Cassara tablets 4gr
8. Sulfur 20x
9. Castor oil
10. ~~redlite powders~~
11. Eye ~~cup~~ ⁽²⁾, soft rubber ear syringe,
fountain syringe
12. Alum
13. Absorbent cotton & bandages & myzoris
plaster.

14. Library - On biochemic remedies, on physiology & anatomy, on diet, on massage, on hygiene & public health, on exercise, on relaxation, on eyes.
15. Lanoline
16. spirits of ammonia
17. Tincture iodine
18. ~~Plural sodique~~
19. ~~Vapex~~
20. Sodium salicylate
21. ~~Formosint~~
22. Sodium phosphate

May 1. Perhaps N.Y.R. has been sent
at this time in order thereby for
man to gain control of his econ-
omic existence by developing his
moral & social-moral nature enough
to catch up with the recent
advances in science, thus preventing
our present economic masters
from enslaving the whole world
by science. It is

It will compel legislators &
judges to catch up with
reality.

I suspect that its power &
danger to governing classes may
be sufficiently perceived by
them as to prevent the
publication of my book in
America. This is an additional

8

reason for being sure of its publica-
tion in India.

In a sense, the present struggle in
India is one of the effects of the
great war, or rather the war
hastened the forces already at work
in India.

"You always may be what
you might have been" - Horace's
uncle Sord.

It may sometimes be useful to
regard each culture or civilisation
as a frame of reference.

It is better usually not to ask
money for any cause, but to tackle the
job bravely on small scale, make it

grow & let the gifts, if any, come out
of love & interest,

To do in 1930-33

1. Practice regular meditation
2. Enrich marriage relation
3. Read Upanishads, Taittiriya, Ramakrishna Paramahansa, etc.
4. Do intensive vegetable gardening
5. work ^{out} diet theory & write pamphlet on it.
6. work over money - symbol problem
7. get N.V.R. book published & spread
8. Collect ^{select} or arrange Gandhi's writings on
Satyagraha. Kishorendra's book.
9. Try publication of Ec of K. book in U.S.A.
10. Learn to cook
11. Try to get K in S to America
12. Plan farm work carefully & start, in ^{per}
13. Article on solar power & ec. reform.
14. Seam, marketing, weaving, spinning work
& linen.

The utility & digestibility of dals & beans are a test of the Clarke diet theory. Be sure to meet it. Cf. E. Indians & Mexicans. Look up digestibility of beans in Morrison's book & in others on Chinese digestion - Sherman, Battle Creek man, McCollum, etc. What is effect of complex proteins (e.g. meat) on salt balance in body. Does its digestion use up certain salts or precipitate them or drive them out? Cf. large frames of Dutch. Effect of vitamins to maintain salt balance. Does body manufacture its own vitamins when fasting with sun baths?

May 2 Gandhi's theory that germs & vermin come from our own sins & evil thoughts

may work out thus:-

Our sins (mistakes) are mostly of divisiveness. They create conditions of bodily divisiveness & disharmony (acidity) more favorable to other forms of life than to man. ∴ The other forms spring up & utilize the soil & conditions thus prepared. Works out even in our dirty houses or dirty ~~for~~ (ill ordered) fields.

May 2. No news from India by wireless either today or yesterday. The press censorship is fairly rigid. They say that democracy is based on consent. Maybe the reform of democracy will be by means of ordered & discipline.

refusal.

Quote from H. G. Wells' "The World Set Free" p. 1.

"The history of mankind is the history of the attainment of external power. Man is the tool-using, fire-making animal. From the outset of his terrestrial ~~career~~ career we find him supplementing the natural strength and bodily weapons of a beast by the heat of burning and the rough implement of stone. --- Presently he added to himself the power of the horse and the ox, he borrowed the carrying strength of water and the driving force of wind, he quickened his fire by blowing, and his simple tools, jointed

first with copper and then with
iron, increased and varied and
became more elaborate and
efficient." --

[AR34. This is a very external
way of looking at the matter. I should
my historical view was that of leaving
more & more to be at harmony with
natural forces, to turn inward &
use his mind & intuition more than
to "conquer" the external world as if it
were separate from him.]

Pointlike article in Indian,
Gandhi & N.K.R.

Why G was not arrested. The
myths of diversity in India (which is false to the
a reflection of divide & impera; show that ^{Eng} ~~confusion~~
too, is & was split into factions & parties; parties
a means of ^{self} ~~govt~~ in Eng but called a ~~war~~ ^{war}

14
self govt in India). The trustee theory &
the meaning of Gandhi's message
the Indian debt.

→ If I can't get book published, try to do
chapters of it as articles.

That Gandhi does not present a full plan of the
future

"Render unto Caesar the things
that are Caesar, & unto God
the things that are God."
My life did not come from
Caesar (govt) but from God,
& to him I render must render.

WORK OF SAPRU CONFERENCE

COMMITTEE OF 29 APPOINTED

DELHI, Feb. 27.

The informal Conference of Leaders with Sir A. P. Patro in the chair continued their deliberations for over three hours this afternoon. The attendance was larger than yesterday. Col. Crawford and Sir Hugh Cocke, the Rev. A. B. Nag, Mr. K. T. Paul, Mr. J. N. Basu and Mr. Lahiri Choudhury were those present to-day. There was general discussion on Mr. Jinnah's 14 points, cordiality prevailing throughout and eventually, on the motion of Sir Mahomed Shafi, seconded by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and supported by Mr. Kelkar, a resolution was passed appointing a Committee of 29 persons, to consider and submit a report on the best means of arriving at a settlement between all communities with regard to a Dominion constitution for India.

The following will constitute the Committee: Sir A. P. Patro: (Chairman); Hindus: Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Mr. M. R. Jayakar (or Mr. Kelkar), Dr. Gokulchand Narang, (or Pundit Nankahal), Mr. Harbilas Sarda and Mr. G. R. Pradhan; Muslims: The Maharajah of Mahmudabad, Sir Mahomed Shafi, Maulana Mahomed Ali, Nawab Ismail Khan, Sir Abdul Qayum, Dr. Shafat Ahmed Khan, Mr. Shafi Daudi and Mr. Jinnah; Liberals: Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer; Non-Brahmins: Mr. R. K. Shunmukham Chetty and Mr. Nowle; Depressed Classes: Mr. T. C. Sakhare; Indian Christians: The Rev. A. B. Nag, Sikhs: Mr. Ujjal Singh and Rajah Daljit Singh; Europeans: Col. Crawford; Anglo-Indians: Lt.-Col. Gidney; Parsees: Sir Cowasji Jehangir (junior); Zemindars: the Kumar Rajah of Venkatagiri and Mr. D. K. Lahiri Choudhury.

The Committee will meet to-morrow to discuss and decide the lines on which it should work. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was thanked for his efforts in convening the Conference.

Mr. Kelkar said that the Committee now constituted, fully represented all minorities and was better than any Committee ever constituted to consider these problems.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru acknowledging the thanks, assured the meeting that they were asking for Dominion status, not in the distant future, but at the earliest possible date in connexion with the revision of the constitution.—Associated Press.

LONDON, March 20.

The Commonwealth of India League is earnestly and energetically working to arouse interest in the minds of British people in the question of Dominion status for India. The League, under the driving force of its indefatigable and enthusiastic hon. secretary, Mr. Krishna Menon, is circulating to a very large number of organisations and individuals a mass of propaganda literature bearing on one or other aspect of the Indian situation, and at the same time, a petition to Parliament is being promoted with the object of securing for India Dominion status. All this costs a great deal of money, and the financial resources of the League are very slender, and both Mr. Peter Freeman, M. D., chairman of the League, and Mr. Polak, its treasurer, have made a wide appeal for funds to enable the Committee to carry through its ambitious programme. It is hoped that the response, both here and from India, will be proportionate to the amount and importance of the work undertaken.

Yesterday afternoon, Mrs. William Graham—her husband is the president of the Board of Trade, which does not necessarily imply either that he does or does not share Mrs. Graham's views on the subject of India—and Mr. Freeman were hosts at the House of Commons to a small tea-party of interested persons, among whom were Mr. D. S. Erulkar, the present president of the Indian Chamber of Commerce in Great Britain, and several

other well-known members of the Indian resident community, as well as half a dozen members of Parliament. Afterwards, under the auspices of the League, there was inaugurated a Committee of members of Parliament, having for its object the securing of Dominion status for India, the executive being Mr. Freeman, chairman, Mr. Mardy Jones, secretary, Mr. Walter Ayles, Mr. Lovat Fraser, Dr. Marion Phillips, Mr. Frank Smith, Mr. Rennie Smith, Mr. Wilfred Wellock, Mr. Norman Angell, Mr. Holford Knight, Miss Picton-Turbervill, Commander J. M. Kenworthy, Col. Malone, Mr. G. B. Winterton, Mr. Rhys Davies, and Mr. Muggeridge. It is hoped and expected that the new Parliamentary Committee will make itself both felt and heard in the near future. Other members will doubtless join it so soon as they become aware of its existence and activities.

THE EAST AFRICAN PROBLEM

WHAT IS EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION? and What is its Future? By WILHELM HAAS. With an Introduction by ALFRED ZIMMERN. 7½ x 5,

viii.+72 pp. Oxford: University Press. London: Milford. 3s. n.

Dr. Haas cries "New lamps for old." He takes well-known facts, and with them moulds a new science, "The Evolution of Civilization." He asks three questions: What is "our" civilization? Why is it "ours"? In what relation does it stand to other civilizations? He answers these and throws in a good deal of information which is neither new nor bears on the subject. But the great value of this book is that it shakes one up and forces one to realize points that are being lost sight of by those who compliment themselves on the high standard of present-day "technical and scientific civilization." The controlling of Nature, which is the goal of modern civilization, is only the natural evolution from that of the Greeks, the production of perfect manhood. This evolution of civilization Dr. Haas traces through three stages, the country of Greece, the Empire of Rome, and the spiritual community of the Christian Middle Ages; until the study of Nature, physics, finally produces the most mature manifestation of the European mind. This book consists of three lectures only, and makes no pretence of exhausting the subject. The final conclusions of the author will undoubtedly be valuable.

MATHEMATICS

THE GREAT MATHEMATICIANS. By H. W. TURNBULL. 7 x 4½, viii.+128 pp. Methuen. 3s. 6d. n.

Among the many short histories of mathematics we can think of few better than this little book by the Regius Professor of Mathematics in the University of St. Andrews. Mr. Turnbull's aim is to reveal something of the spirit of mathematics without unduly burdening the reader with its intricate symbolism. In this he has admirably succeeded, linking the growth of the science with its great names and illustrating the general tendencies of particular epochs with the illustrious figures who stood at the centre of each movement. The first four chapters show the flowering of Greek mathematics, the astonishing development of geometry and the beginnings of algebra under Diophantus. The renaissance begins with Napier and Kepler, and from that the science is traced through the great French geometers to the towering figure of Newton, with whom the modern world begins. Then the story shifts to the Continent again with the Bernouillis, Euler, Lagrange and Gauss, but returns to Great Britain with the astonishing discoveries of Hamilton and the rise of a great English school devoted to the theory of algebraic forms. An outline of non-Euclidean geometry, Ramanujan's work in the theory of numbers, Lie's and Klein's in the theory of groups bring the story to an end.

MEDICAL

THE PRINCIPLES OF BACTERIOLOGY AND IMMUNITY. By W. W. C. TOPEL and G. S. WILSON. In two volumes, 8½ x 7. Vol. I. xvi. +587+xvi. pp. Vol. II. viii.+pp. 589-1300 +xx. pp. Arnold. 50s. n.

The authors are to be congratulated both on the substance and the method of presentation of these two admirable volumes. They fill a long-existing need as a textbook of bacteriology, and will be of great service to students of medicine and biology who wish to make a serious study of bacteriology and its application to the problems of infection and resistance. The first volume consists of sections on general and systematic bacteriology respectively. In the second volume are dealt with problems of infection and resistance and the application of bacteriology to medicine and hygiene. They are well and adequately illustrated. Some of the diagrams are most ingenious and original.

WHEN GANDHI WAS BOTH SANE AND SINCERE

REMINISCENCES OF AN ENGLISH FRIEND
AND ADMIRER

STORIES OF EGGS AND TEETH

The following passages are extracted from an article by Dr. Josiah Oldfield, D.C.L., which appeared in John O'London's Weekly of March 29 under the heading "Gandhi As I Knew Him." The writer pays tribute to Mr. Gandhi's sincerity, applauds his courage and stresses the immense following he commands in India, but feels compelled to remark in conclusion that "Gandhi is largely wrong" (in his present campaign) "and is honestly aiming for that which will not be beneficent to India".

The idea of a man being worshipped in his lifetime seems almost ludicrous to the Western mind. But why not? Why wait till he is dead before recognising a man's character and paying him the honour that is due to him? Is it because we judge the saintly mind by the political yard measure, and fear lest adoration would so transform the character that a man who was to-day worshipped for his sanctity might to-morrow demonstrate that his feet were of clay?

Gandhi is to-day a problem. To rulers and governors he is a thorn in the side. To logicians he is a fool. To economists he is a hopeless ignoramus. To materialists he is a dreamer. To Communists he is a drag on the wheel. To constitutionalists he represents rank revolution.

THE SECRET OF HIS POWER

From time to time the most reliable Press correspondents inform their editors that Gandhi's power has passed, that his authority is discredited, and that he is no longer a living force in his own land. A few weeks later his name appears once more in large type, and his opinions and his directions are quoted and discussed on the ground that they will alter the minds and actions of millions of men. There is no saint that has been placed in Christian hagiology since the time of the Apostles who could be invoked to mould men's actions to-day to the same extent that Mahatma Gandhi can influence devout and superstitious Hindus of certain classes.

What is it that has raised a man of comparatively obscure birth, of no family influence, of small financial means, of no great intellectual capacity, and of delicate constitution, to such a pinnacle as Gandhi has reached?

My answer is "Character," and again "Character."

THE PROBLEM OF EGGS

We live in the same diggings, shared the same table, sat on the same committees, wrestled with the same social problems, and were faced with the same temptations of youth, but I never once found Gandhi to fall below his high standard of transparent truthfulness, absolute honesty, of thought and deed, unswerving chastity, overflowing sympathy with everything that was oppressed, and fearless championship of every pitiful cause.

From
The Madras
Mail
Apr 15, 1930

In his autobiography which he published a year or two ago he states that it was Dr. Parker and myself who influenced him most towards becoming a Christian, which is striking evidence of how intimately we thrashed out the deeper problems of life.

There was one point on which we disagreed. I was a "Fruitarian" and included eggs in my dietary. Gandhi rejected them on the ground that they possessed the definite germ of life. "This germ might be quiescent but it was none the less life, and to destroy life in posse was to be abhorred as much as to destroy life in esse."

I argued that eggs as eggs did not possess even the germ of life. Until fertilisation they were only treasures of nutriment prepared in anticipation of the germ being deposited within them.

"When you can assure me," he replied, "that eggs have not been fertilised, I may eat them. In case of doubt I prefer to be on the side of the Brahma, the giver of life, rather than on the side of Shiva, its destroyer, and so I will abstain!"

INDIANS IN AFRICA

Apart from religion, Gandhi's great rule of life was obedience to the vows which he took at his mother's knee before she sent out her young lad into an unknown, fearsome world where the loved religion of her life and the rulers of her faith were despised and treated as heathen superstitions.

Gandhi in due course became a barrister and returned to India.

We next met when he came to England to plead the cause of his oppressed fellow-countrymen in South Africa. His soul was then becoming embittered against the British authorities. He maintained that the Boers had got generous treatment because they had fought against England and dared the arbitrament of war, while the East Indians could get no hearing because they had only appealed in the forum of Ethics and Justice.

It did not affect him personally that he, a British barrister, was thrown out of a train in the wilds of Africa, bag and baggage, either to perish or to tramp his way to some distant habitation—and all because he was Indian born!

No protection was afforded him by the British Government. No protest was raised by the Inns of Court.

COURAGE

He formed a Committee. He interviewed the great men of England. He spent his days and half his nights in writing, interviewing, and pressing for the fulfilment of the pledge of

citizenship to his fellow-countrymen in Africa—but in vain.

It is in the small things of the quiet life that character and fortitude are shown, and not upon the public stage, or in the glare of the foot-lights, that greatness of mind becomes manifest.

One little incident appealed to me, because I had gone through the same ordeal, and had made a great fuss over what he quietly endured without a word.

He was busy with his South African Committee in a London hotel where he was staying when I called on him, and coming out to me he asked me if I could take out a tooth which was worrying him.

I examined his mouth and found a very painful jaw, and a tooth difficult to extract.

"Go to a dentist," I said.

"I haven't time," he replied. "If you will take it out for me here and now, I'll be very grateful, for it disturbs my power of concentration."

THE STOIC

I went out, borrowed a pair of forceps and returned. He asked the Committee to excuse him a minute, came into his bedroom, and, without a sigh or a murmur, or an indrawn breath, bore the extraction of as difficult a tooth as I have ever taken out. For myself I wouldn't have had it out without an anaesthetic upon any consideration. He sat still for a few minutes, thanked me gently and earnestly, and went back to his Committee.

When I was in India I lived the simple life of a Hindu. I tasted the mountain cave life of the Yogi. I was welcomed into the thoughts that are ever kept behind the veil. Wherever I went I found traces of Gandhi. Unostentatiously he would arrive and consult and disappear again, and those who in public would repudiate kinship with his ideas were giving him their support in secret conclave.

Continued (over)

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From last page

A WARPED MIND

Gandhi has no sympathy with the Communist youths who preach revolution and bloody war, but there is no man in India to-day who could travel so widely throughout that great continent as he, and who would find so warm a welcome and so reverent a homage in prince's palace and in peasant's hut.

Every revolutionist has found it easy to inflame people to die for their country, but Gandhi has faced a far more difficult task. He is trying to teach Indians to live for their motherland, and in living to suffer for their country's weal.

Personally, though my knowledge of India is limited, I feel that Gandhi is largely wrong, and is honestly aiming for that which will not be beneficent to India, but the fault lies with those who by their deaf ears and callous opportunism warped his mind at a time when he was as sane as he was sincere

A New and Cheaper Edition at 5s. net
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Satan the Waster

A Philosophic War Trilogy

By VERNON LEE

Of which George Bernard Shaw said originally in the 'Nation': "Vernon Lee has the whole European situation in the hollow of her hand. As her notes to this book prove, she has never been wrong since the War began. The book is of first-rate workmanship from beginning to end."

Future
Letter to Beria re Ganesan.

That I have paid Ganesan over Rs 200
part of it for Ec of K. Add list of
people to whom I wanted my NVR
book sent to. That Ganesan told me
on Mar 2 that he would start putting
the book into type immediately &
expected to have it out by end of
but it was not even started on April 17 when I saw him
April 18. That he told me on ^{I was here} Mar 2
to assume that, if I got no letter of

acknowledgment in response to a request,
 the things would be done. But when
 I got there on April 16 I found
 that the books I had requested on
 Mar 2 to be sent to America were not
 sent till Mar 20th. ~~James~~ Some
 of the money I paid him was for £ of
 K books ~~beside~~ mostly for 2 VR books.
 James wrote me & again told me
 on Mar 2 that Bryan had reorganized
 him into a company & that it
 was completed. But on Mar 18
 James's manager told me that the
 papers had been sent to Govt,
 they had not yet been returned, so the
 Co was not even then actually formed.
^{or N.S. Varadachari}
 Can Rajagopalachari help? See history
 of Late Book 1A or 8 & some other money
 I sent James. Also see my last book.
 Give it to Watson & first allow a return of
 1 American & 1/2 copies to go in.

about Rs 50/- for copies of £ of K
 Mar 14 Rs 100/-
 Mar 27 Rs 100/-
 Apr 6 Rs 10/-
 Total 210/-
 sent to James

Re diet, note that Baper does not
use dal or beans. The mere fact
that Indians & Mexicans use
legumes so extensively does not
mean that legumes are the best
food. That perhaps affects the
health of Indians.

May 4. Britain will do an
immense amount of dirty
intrigue in and against
India for at least ten years.
cf. what she ~~did~~ ^{did} in Russia.
When ^{the British} ~~the British~~ really begin
to realize that ^{they} ~~she~~ is going to
lose India, they will go to
fearful extremes and rages
& will reveal to the whole
world the cruelty of capitalism
when dealt its body blow.

Re diet, perhaps one reason why various single food diets, e.g. the milk diet, the oranges diet, the raw beef diet etc have proved beneficial is because they do not violate the rule of not mixing proteins & carbohydrates in same meal or not mixing acid and starch.

God is in the genius which make one rich, - in that form of life, as much as in our own form of human life.

The English talk about "safeguarding" their industries by protective tariffs. Why should not India safeguard hers by ex. boycott? The latter is a more open & direct & courageous a

way to do it & is more funda-
mental, for than the 'joke' version
with individual consumers to
modify their own desires & are
self controlled, instead of putting
it on govt to do.

May not the whole policy
of protective tariffs be a
result of machinery, a proof
that such overproduction is
harmful to each nation, by
upsetting the numerical
balance between producers &
consumers & between other
nations.

But govt did not over-
sight at first in the hope
that his movement would
filter out & become indi-

justice it is breeding disaffection, i.e. rebellion more eloquently than any agitator. Perhaps Lord Curzon is also trying W.V.R. but has to consider and of course the order to stop the Province of Government people at home.

cross, Then later because they thought to thwart what they considered his desire for "cheap martyrdom". Then later partly because they knew he was not thus to be intimidated, because they feared its effect on public opinion in America, upon such Indian moderates as Madhavji, upon the resentment of Indian peasants, & because they hoped by leaving him free that ~~that~~ he would control the worst forces of disorder & violence.

Also perhaps they think if all other leaders are imprisoned & Bapu left free, his moral influence will abate & he will become only a voice in the wilderness. But Bapu is too shrewd & will use the freedom to stir more opposition. Rather such treatment will prove that the law is wholly a tool for govt. & is not in any way connected with justice. Pax Britannica thus is made synonymous with lawlessness. When govt thus despises the law of its majesty &

arable cultivation. Professor Barnes is much more impartial. He considers that, for the first three centuries of the Corn Laws' existence, the chief concern of the Government was the interest of consumers; that, subsequently, the producer became at least of equal importance and that the laws were based "on a distinct system of social justice"; that the question whether the bounty on exports of corn during the eighteenth century benefited or prejudiced consumers is debatable; and that it is only after the close of the Napoleonic wars that the definition quoted above becomes approximately accurate.

The early history of the Corn Laws shows no consistency of policy, several statutes only embodying phases of the contest over the Royal right to license exports, and illustrating fluctuations in the struggle between Crown and Parliament. But the fifteenth century had already hit on the principle which was adopted in all subsequent legislation on exports and imports, and a price was fixed below or above which the one was permitted and the other prohibited. Under the Tudors the control of the traffic in grain became, in theory at least, more systematic. Laws were passed dealing with internal markets for corn, with its exportation and with its importation. On each of these three groups, at different periods, public interest was in turn concentrated. Up to the Restoration internal marketing was the most important. From 1689 to the close of the eighteenth century exports at least shared the first place in the public eye. After 1815 imports became exclusively significant.

These successive changes may be studied from different angles. For instance, they illustrate the growth of the urban population and the gradual differentiation of employment. Up to the middle of the eighteenth century the majority of consumers were also producers, and the great mass of the rural population consuming their own produce and baking at home, were little affected by statutes against "forestallors, regraters and badgers," or by such a device as the Assize of Bread. It was for the protection of the towns that internal markets were regulated and that the principle of a just price was enforced, not merely by ecclesiastical denunciations of greed and the Canon Law condemnation of usury, but by legislation and administrative machinery. So, at later stages, as those who were only consumers multiplied till they largely outnumbered those who were also producers, an increasing number of people became keenly interested first in the prohibition of exports and then in the admission of imports. The changes in the relative importance of the

three branches of legislation also illustrate the development of alternative and international sources of supply. Down to the second decade of the nineteenth century Northern Europe was the only granary to which England could turn for any considerable addition to her home-grown supplies. The climatic conditions being similar, scarcity at home meant scarcity abroad. In judging of the wisdom or folly of the bounty on exports, it would be necessary to know whether, with the addition of transport charges, Northern Europe could have offered in years of scarcity an alternative and cheaper supply. If not, then a policy which encouraged such a home production as in normal years provided an exportable surplus might be justified. It would be interesting to know whether any information as to corn-growing in Northern Europe is available.

After 1815 new alternative supplies, not subject to similar conditions of climate,

opened out in increasing volume. In this connexion we should like to submit a point to Professor Barnes. The existing statistics on corn prices show their average for the calendar, not the cereal, year. If their range is from January 1 to December 31, they contain eight months of one harvest and four months of another. The Windsor Table, which is the chief authority for prices before 1771, gives the prices in March and September in each year and the two figures are thrown together to show its average price. Similarly, the official tables for the last 160 years, based on monthly returns, give the average for the calendar year. How deceptive the result may be is illustrated from the year 1813. The harvest was so exceptionally abundant that it created a record for many years to come, and its carry-over was large enough to bring down the average price of the succeeding year. But as the official figure for 1813 contains eight months of one of the worst harvests of the period, it stands at the high average of 109s. 9d. a quarter, one of the highest peaks in an unusually high-priced series. The method of statement thus distorts the historical fact.

Professor Barnes dismisses the early history of the Corn Laws summarily and takes the legislation of the Restoration as the starting point. He probably does so because

THE COMING SOCIAL ORDER

IN DEFENCE OF CAPITALISM. By ADOLF WEBER. Translated by H. J. STENNING. (Allen and Unwin. 4s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Adolf Weber, who is Professor of Political Science in the University of Munich, has written a very useful little work, which was published last year with the German title "End of Capitalism." It now appears in an excellent translation with an English title, "In Defence of Capitalism." Dr. Weber does not believe that Capitalism is approaching its end or even that it has entered on the period of old age, as Werner Sombart has suggested. He thinks rather that it has entered on a "vigorous middle age," though he deprecates prediction in general. His first chapter, which is entitled "Beware of Prophecy," contains several examples of economic predictions that have been completely falsified by the course of events. Most of them are taken from the unfortunate speculations of Marx and Engels, who were beguiled into prophecy by their belief in "scientific Socialism," which has proved itself thoroughly unscientific. The most convincing demonstration of this is afforded by the great Russian experiment, which has effectually warned other nations against following the same path. Dr. Weber sees no "signs of senility in the capitalist system or even in the processes of economic life." On the contrary, he finds it satisfactory that the system has "outlived its youthful extravagances and emerged from its period of immaturity." What is actually happening is a "gradual transition towards a system based on centralized control."

That is his answer to the question—Is Capitalism merging into Socialism? In dealing with it he discusses the theories of Schmalenbach, who is "the founder of the doctrine of German business efficiency" and a man to be taken very seriously. Weber accepts Schmalenbach's contention that the growth of fixed costs, representing plant and equipment, leads to the formation of cartels, but denies the conclusion he draws from the abandonment of free competition that follows. Cartellization does not mean the end of competition, but the transference from ruinous and inappropriate competition to regulated competition, which is not a repudiation but an affirmation of the competitive principle. He also denies Schmalenbach's allegation that in modern industry the capable man has fewer opportunities of rising, that superannuated heads stay too long and favouritism takes the place of personal efficiency. He cites England, where business has remained independent longer than in Germany or America, as pre-eminently a land of "petri-

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fied" private enterprise, and asks whether anyone would predict a Socialistic future for America, where fixed costs are far more important than in Germany. Schmalenbach fixes his eyes too much on the "individual business, instead of taking in the whole of industry, and in this connexion his forecast of the future is contradicted by the striking fact that according to the Census of 1925 the number of businesses is increasing, not diminishing, in Germany. This is a most important observation, which holds good for other countries and bears upon all attempts to predict the future. The prophets look only to the large enterprise; they see it growing and then entering into a cartel, and from this they divine the future. They assume, as Marx assumed, that this process necessarily involves the disappearance of the small and medium business. But when the businesses are counted, as they are in an industrial census, the assumption is found to be actually false. The large businesses have certainly grown, but they have not swallowed up the small, which have increased in number. The growth in size is added to the growth in number, not substituted for it; and the predictions, based on that assumption, are falsified.

Weber also denies the force of Sombart's similar prophecy, which is based on general considerations and relies on the increasing normalization, organization and stabilization of business. He does not deny the existence of these processes, but he does not think they exercise a decisive influence on the essential features of the economic system. He believes that Sombart exaggerates their importance and ignores other and counter influences. With regard to the increasing normalization witnessed in the rationalizing process, he denies that there is any sign of declining courage, as alleged by Sombart, when Germans are not afraid to carry it out mainly with borrowed money, for which they have to pay 8 to 10 per cent. He doubts the assurance that the "knowable" factors in business have increased more and more; and he points out that the desire of gain, which is supposed to be declining, is not the only motive in industry. There is also the creative instinct and the pleasure of economic power. In like manner he throws doubt upon Sombart's other arguments, and with respect to stabilizing the course of trade, he observes that whereas Marx foresaw the end of Capitalism in the increasing devastation caused by crises, Sombart sees it in exactly the opposite phenomena of their disappearance.

In a chapter on public services he says truly that even supporters of the capitalist order have no objection whatever to the collective satisfaction of collective needs; for capitalist economy is only the most rational

system that is possible and it would be most irrational if the supply of water, light and power were entirely abandoned to private enterprise. Yet even where services are publicly owned, if a mercantile success is desired, State and municipality alike insist (in Germany) on their undertakings being managed on capitalist lines, with a minimum of political control and of bureaucracy. The fact that various enterprises were put in the hands of the State or the municipality with general approval when Socialism did not exist or was quite powerless is a proof that there is no objection to the process when it seems desir-

able. And the commercialization of State-owned properties, which has gone to great lengths in Germany, coupled with the refusal to nationalize any more in a wholly democratic community, proves that the existing system is governed by the needs of the time and is just "the most rational that is possible." Mistakes may be made, but they are found out and put right. Such, in Dr. Weber's opinion, were the State housing policy and the national fixing of wages; but both were emergency measures, justified by exceptional conditions. The housing policy is described as an "economic misfortune," which every one desires to see speedily ended. It lacks all elasticity and imposes a great burden on the community. In 1926 it was stated without contradiction that there were 36,000 persons in the housing departments, another 19,800 in the Courts dealing with housing questions, and 8,000 officials engaged in collecting taxes connected with housing. The fixing of wages by the State was recently discussed at a conference of employers and employed convened by the Socialist Minister of Labour. All were agreed that it was unsatisfactory and seriously undermined the responsibility of the parties concerned.

Other questions discussed are wage increases and the limits of economic democracy. On the former he notes a changing point of view in the trade unions and quotes from a trade union paper the statement that "assistance can only come from the cooperation of all in an endeavour to raise the productivity of labour so that the growth of the social product will facilitate increases in wages and the accumulation of capital alike." With regard to economic democracy he welcomes the works councils and the aspirations of labour within limits, but points out that economic life cannot be carried on without due subordination, and stresses the importance of initiative, responsibility and pleasure in work. In his final conclusion he says:—

The old theory, long grown senile, teaches the workers to abolish the capitalist economic order root and branch; but in doing so it overlooks the fact that this would only destroy an uncommonly valuable and even indispensable instrument for human progress. We have to combat poverty. . . . It is a long way from true that the capitalist economic order requires men who see in profit the Alpha and Omega of their existence. . . . The really superior business man, on the contrary, would regard it as his chief task to sink his personal demands in the technical requirements of the business, which should stand in a proper relationship to the economic system. . . . He ought to realize that he thereby becomes a public servant. This idea would assist him in finding his way to the soul of his servant. . . . The business man would, in these circumstances, instead of tolerating a far-sighted policy of social reform as a necessary evil, welcome it as a means of making the economic system subordinate to the nobler ends of life.

*Re diet, is there
any correlation between
the fact that heavy
alcoholism seems to
tend to run stroke,
the case of umbilical
by biochemic NaCl,
liquor causing me to
have flow of nasal mucus,
* the chronic of alcohol
to require, & the bad
effect of nym on teeth
& perhaps on other
parts of body?*

govt is not governing by affection & support of the majority but by force & tyranny of a minority over the rest.

The difference between non-violent sedition and so-called "constitutional" agitation for change is that the latter is only superficial & so slow that it can be outwitted, whereas the former is radical effective and in earnest. ∴ For govt to oppose the former proves that govt is composed of selfish vested interests and is not really desirous of the good of all the people. Government permits "constitutional" ^{such reform} reform because it is wholly ineffective and limits the people's minds and energies.

THE ORDER OF UNITY

As the luxuriance of civilization has menaced the dignity of our culture, so its triumphs have been endangering our safety. The fuller the world's life, the mightier its organizations, the more tumultuous it tends to become. Manifestly, the very discipline of great and majestic Governments gave us disaster on a gigantic scale, in horrors of which Herr Remarque's stark reminder has lately gripped us, and of which, also, we can catch the undertones even in the sweet and patterned echoes of Mr. Blunden's poetic mind. We have learnt too much since the Armistice to lay the whole blame in a single quarter, much less to try to load it on one man's shoulders. The strain of competing nationalisms lacked on one side the sense of unity in civilization; it was intensified, on the other, by the genius of the Northern Europeans for material organization; and, indeed, it was firstly the excess of production which made each separate nation more eager to drive others from its own markets. There was undoubtedly more danger from some quarters than from others; but civilized society as a whole had long become unstable. There was a sort of frenzy in it. And ears which were delicate enough had already heard in far ancestral voices a prophecy of war.

When the havoc burst upon us, its virulent effects went farther than wasted money, or wasted brains; they were more than hardships, filth, or the pains of mutilation; they were more than the fire which laid low many of the world's most courageous men. One came to know another horror. One found that the forces of Nature were in tumult also within, and that subordinate to the struggle with the enemy was the wrestle with fear—alternating at times with indecency—and the strain of moral command by will alone, a strain which is worse in the artificial nervousness of civilized people, facing an ordeal unknown to those who had been toughened by barbarity and had survived it. It is this wrestle which is the theme of the most eagerly frequented play of recent years; and when we consider it

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we find that it is akin to that of Shakespearian tragedy. That fact astonishes, but when we look closely at it it cannot be denied. Fear, as the writer of the Book of Wisdom already noted, is a surrender of the succours which reason offers. It is therefore, at bottom, a form of madness, which is always that loss of control over reason by the will which makes imagination a rebel to fact. The sane man, on the sick bed, on the battlefield, or in the place of execution, faces death itself calmly: King Lear gave way before imagination's menaces, like those childlike people in the Book of Wisdom who had lost the power of reasonable touch with Nature:—

And it is a remarkable fact that Meredith, in whom among writers they find their most passionate expression, did in his last novels allow them to dispute (though only in his novels, and only then in difficult individual cases) the moral law. If we compare him with Mrs. Meynell we find Meredith also admitting that the wildness of Nature comes into his style, depriving it of the classic grace which he admired in hers. It is a fact not less remarkable that the hero of "One of our Conquerors," whose highest praise was that he kept faith with Nature, goes mad. What is even more significant is that the same book celebrates the advent of portentous wealth to England and Germany, and that while this wealth was still increasing we found ourselves at war.

The individual and his social order have as much one health as plant and leaf. The following of these events, therefore, leaps at once to the mind: they mean the struggle of luxuriance with law; and four remarkable books have recently appeared which give us clearer insight of the value, both to literature and to life, of the order of unity in men and nations, and in culture.

From *paranormal*
April, 1930

Benefits of British Government

Amongst these used to be counted and recounted Railways and Telegraph, Posts, and communications. But are they really such, and if so to what extent? To the extent to which you write your private letters, send your private telegrams and transact your private business, all is well. But when you are engaged in a political agitation, your telegrams are withheld, your post is censored and your communications are interfered with. Nowadays there is a C.I.D. Inspector gaining entry into a private chamber of the postmaster and tearing open in his presence your letters and telegrams. He allows you some and disallows you others. It is as if he owns the whole department, lets go those which are innocuous and stops the passage of those he considers undesirable. It is all as if a private car is moving along the road, taking passengers at the driver's will and refusing admission to bystanders at his pleasure. We now see the inside of things. All these so called benefits of British rule are primarily aids to their administration, their despotic authority, their business organizations and their self-interest. When once these bounds are overstepped, all is ill. Railways do not carry your traffic, telegraphs do not convey your messages, Post does not deliver your communications. Let no one befool himself with the hope that he enjoys any rights under this government. Rights enjoyed at the will of the authorities are merely indulgences.

TWO-WAY TIME

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE DAILY TELEGRAPH"

SIR—Suppose we could see everything happening on another planet, from which we were receding faster than light. We should then see everything happening backward—e.g., the roof of a house on fire falling in succeeded by the outbreak of the fire.

If we had no idea about the speed of our recession from the planet, and had before never seen a house on fire, we might feel justified in reversing the true sequence of events.

To what criterion, then, can we appeal as an absolute index to the direction of time?

I suggest that the absolute resides in the realm of ideas, and if a phenomenon be essentially progressive in idea it must be so in its actuality.—Yours, &c.,

BASIL BROWN-MORISON.

South Norwood, April 21.

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- Why did Bage start N.V.R. when he did? (1) To stop the revolutionaries (2) To keep control of Congress & the young men; (3) To prevent the Round Table Conference & all the deception it meant; (4) Because he saw how to use N.V.R. in spite of violence elsewhere, - use it to fight with quiet & violent Indians. (5) Because he hoped to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity by his victory ~~because~~ the Muslims are only seeking for power & will climb on the band wagon when the Hindus prove they have it & the British go.

If it is important to have
N.V.R. become a disciplined,
organized mass affair, there
ought to be some sort of training
institution for it. That is really
what Bapu's ashram was
and is. What should be the
elements of such a place in
the U.S., for example.

Arms began for defense or
offense of all sorts of causes.
So it may be here. Labor
unions are a most likely place to
begin.

Of Gita, Upanishads, Tantras,
rules of Udyoga Mundir, Tao Te, Tao,
Words of Christ, Buddhist sayings,
some modern psychologies such as
Marston, etc. Must be partly
an intellectual understanding,

partly an emotional and bodily training, practice and discipline with tests (?), partly by meditation & religion. Will art and music help. Begin early. A course for parents. Childhood training different from adult re-education. Place of stories & games. Relationships with other ^{manipulative} studies. The use of devices such as Korymbos. Use of discussion guidance.

A. Coomaraswami "Dance of Siva" p 61 Shiva destroys "not merely the heavens and earth at the close of a world-cycle, but the fetters that bind each separate soul."

If this be so, & if my body is in part a fetter, my death is to be welcomed & not dreaded, for it

marks a step forward, an
expansion, an increase of
freedom.

I hid: "The place where the
ego is destroyed signifies the
state where illusion and deeds
are burnt away"; - that is
the burning ground where
Natarajan dances -- "in the
hearts of his lovers".

The heart is the centre of
the universe. [of the concept
of the ego as ^{a centre} an origin point
of a ^{series} frame of reference

The Mahatma

THE PSYCHOLOGY AND STRATEGY OF
GANDHI'S NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE.—By
Richard Gregg. (S. Ganesan, Triplicane, Madras.)

This beautiful and instructive booklet containing 169 pages sent by the author "as a present to Gandhiji on his sixty-first birthday with my love," is part of a larger book which Mr. Gregg is writing on the subject of non-violent resistance or *Satyagraha*. After broadly treating the subject from a psychological and strategic point of view, the author contends, and is convinced, that the method of solving a conflict is found more in non-violent resistance than in the reciprocal violence. He explains, with clear logic and good argument, how non-violent resistance will create good feeling, and its effect if practised on the morale of man. In justifying his conviction on the efficacy of non-violent resistance, Mr. Gregg quotes several eminent Western authorities in support of his contention, one such authority being Mr. Bertrand Russell, whose words on this subject are worth reproducing here. He says: "Passive resistance, if it were adopted deliberately by the will of the whole nation, with the same measure of courage and discipline which is now displayed, might achieve a far more perfect protection for what is good in national life than armies and navies can ever achieve, without demanding the carnage and waste and welter of brutality involved in modern war." The author believes that the failures and apparent futilities of non-violent resistance in the past have been due largely to lack of discipline and lack of understanding of the full implications and requirements of the method, and he attributes Mr. Gandhi's failures in the past caused by the Bombay riots in November 1921 and the Chauri Chaura riots in 1922 to the above reasons.

—*Times of India*.

On Revolutions

They say that there is no parallel to the fate of India with its vast area and its vaster population, being a slave to a foreign nation with a strength hardly a tenth of its own. That is true, and that is the very reason why a way out of this unprecedented situation must be found anew. To break away from bondage, there are only two openings. Either the bond-slave must overpower the master and break the shackles of his slavery. Or he must refuse to serve the purpose for which he is enslaved. The former is the method long in use in this country, while the latter embodies a familiar idea, but a novel plan of action. The one is a process of violent revolution in which force plays the predominant part. The other is what is popularly known as non violent non-co operation.

The philosophy of non-violent non-co-operation is portrayed both graphically and convincingly in *The Psychology and Strategy of Gandhi's Non-violent Resistance*.* An attack from the enemy gives rise to a retaliation springing from consciousness of superior strength, which generates anger, or retirement due to consciousness of inferior strength which creates fear or cowardice. But there is a third alternative in which the person attacked submits to violence and thus makes the person attacking realise that the victim's courage is neither anger which retaliates nor cowardice which flees, but is higher than mere physical bravery, than recklessness—a courage that is generous, dumb-founding and

trustful. The man of violence at once realises that his victim is a man to be trusted, one that has "*maintained the decent and kindly manner under the severest provocation.*" He is not self-seeking, bears no malice, does not seek revenge. Before such a man the bully loses his morale and has already lost its prestige. Sooner or later, very often later rather than

tortoise of the fable, gathering momentum, conserving strength, canvassing sympathy all round. There is at once created a struggle and conflict between the two personalities, the baser and the higher. The 'man of violence' is acting unconsciously and by force of suggestion. "The spectacle of bravely enduring suffering along with all the surprises and uncertainty of the situation creates a new emotion in the man of violence." Indeed non-violent resistance is not non-resistance but is "in effect a sort of language, a means of communicating feelings of ideas it uses, the expression of the face, glances of the eyes, tones, intensities and modulations of the voice movements, postures of the limbs of the body, just as

sooner, he realises that his own cruelty is the result of cowardice, because he himself is the victim of fear, qualities which contrast with the feelings of security and goodwill displayed by his opponent. The process of regeneration may be slow, but it is certain. Society also immediately learns to respect the Satyagrahi and view with contempt the bully. A retaliation would not arrest public attention, whereas a willing submission generates, what is called 'a circular response'—a response to the new situation which has been created. What happens is that anger and violence, though they at first liberate energy, would soon consume all energy and "exhaust the person feeling it." The Satyagrahi is therefore like the

* By Richard B. Gregg: S. Ganesan, Publisher, Triplicane, Madras. Re. 1. To Subscribers of Janmabhumí As. 12.

in all personal communications."

The secret of non-violence is that violence is a play of anger against counter anger, giving rise to action and reaction, in equal and opposite directions, indeed as Mr. Gregg puts it like two faggots, the front and back logs in a fire feeding each other. "The heat of one log is reflected across to the other, which then fires up and sends more heat to the first. The heat is reflected back and forth, steadily increasing and consuming the material (latent energy) of the wood. So anger, resentment, hatred and revenge, in the process of reciprocal initiative violence, mount higher and enter into more and more of the personalities of the combatants, consuming all their energies to the point of utter exhaustion or destruction. Non-violence is not a passive state but an active resistance, one form of combating violence which develops "a sort of moral manipulative activity in which the factors used and operated on are largely psychological." Only to be successful the Satyagrahi should display the qualities of love not hatred, faith, not despair, humility not arrogance, honesty but not duplicity, and courage not cowardice. These are virtues that create and extract respect as well as admiration for themselves and when this attitude of admiration and respect is developed in the tyrant, or the bully, there is a certain auto-suggestion which uplifts him from the quagmire of hatred and revenge and kindles in him sympathy and appreciation. But these virtues may not be passive either; for to be potent and fruitful of results they must be active, operative and dynamic. Your whole revenge is to do good unto the man who has rendered you evil, to love him that hates you, to turn your left cheek unto him that hath smitten thee on thy right and present your garment unto the man that hath stolen your shirt. To advocate non-violence out of cowardice is not merely a crime but is sin itself. To practice non-violence out of satyagraha is to disarm your enemy, frustrate his plans, paralyse his activities, regenerate his soul and make him befriend yourself. The only strategy of non-violent resister is honesty, and his only weapon is truth.

Āmābhumī

SATURDAY, 22nd MARCH, 1930

On Revolutions

II

"Gandhi gave us a scare. His program filled our jails. You can't go on arresting people for ever, you know—not when there are 319,000,000 of them. And if they had taken his next step and refused to pay taxes, God knows where we would have been !

Gandhi was the most colossal experiment in world history; and it came within an inch of succeeding. But he could not control men's passions. They became violent; and he called off his program." So said Sir George Lloyd when he was Governor of Bombay in an interview with Drew Pearson. At a time when the Non-violent rising of India has already begun, it behoves the protagonists of the movement, to study the principles underlying it. These principles have already been expounded for us by Mr. Gregg. The first principle is that 'Hatred eats up our energies our feelings, and our imaginations.' We immediately become, under hatred and anger, a slave of the object of our wrath and revenge, so that anger is not

merely wrong in principle but also in expediency. We have to conquer our enemy by developing not outside resistance, "but by creating inside his own personality an impulse too strong for his inside tendencies." To be successful, we must provide a stimulus to the attacker which will call forth his full energy and his active emotions on our behalf. Anger is compared to a short physical leverage movement, but non-violent resistance is a "longer psychological leverage" acting slower but surer. To oppose force against force is to seek a solution at the level of the conflict whereas we ought to raise the whole conflict to a higher level, in a word, to "sublimate" the movement or, as some people call it, to integrate it, so as to avoid that feeling of mortification and desire for revenge, which must follow in the wake of defeat. Lord Reading truly said in December 1921 that there should be no such thing as victor and vanquished in that great struggle. If his feelings were sincere as his words were significant, we could have found a solution even then. With the sense of victory on one side or of defeat on the other or even of a force to compromise, we would only bring about a treaty which only bears the seeds of the future war. Non-violent Resistance contemplates a fourth method, by engaging the services, feelings and energies of both sides to reach a solution which must be satisfying all round.

Anger seeks to destroy the opposite side, whereas it must rise above that level and utilise the opponent's human power on a higher level. Love does this. 'It is more intelligent and far-seeing emotion being stronger and more inclusive' than its fellow. It effects a resultant in a parallelogram of forces. Love doth not conquer but convert. "Perfect love casteth out fear." Nor is non-violent resistance merely to be confined to the problems of individual conflict. In the wider fields of national and inter-national conflicts, it is equally potent. After all, the object of all war is to impose one's will upon the enemy. This is not brought about by the destruction of the enemy's forces, but as Vonde Goltez has said "It is not so much of destroying the enemy troops as of destroying their courage." Victory is yours, as soon as you convince your opponent that his cause is lost. One defeats the enemy not by individual and complete annihilation but by destroying his hopes of victory. These are not the words of sickly sentimentalists or ethically minded theologians but of Marshall Foch. Even Napoleon said "in war the

the level of the conflict to its own. Non-violence, on the contrary, "uses" the defensive as the decisive form of action. But instead of destroying the enemy, it "seeks to discover for him the newer and wiser channel for his energy." In doing so, it saves the enemy the humiliation of defeat and conserves to him his own courage which would enable him to welcome a new solution to the conflict. The Satyagrahi thus acts on the heart of the enemy, not on the body. The attacker and the enemy are no longer equal and opposite forces destroying each other, but are engaged on the higher level of evolving a common solution by finding out a resultant. Non-violence leaves no residue of resent-

proportion of the moralist to the physical is as 3:1." There are certain great principles to be observed in all wars. The initiative counts for everything. There is always an element of surprise in it. Gandhi's proposal to manufacture salt is staggering by its very simplicity, is terrible because it is unexpected. How does Government respond? They bring an element of surprise into the war by arresting Vallabhbhai. Both sides in a war must think in broad sweeps and wide curves. The boldest of the methods, they say, are the safest. They have their own element of risk. But Government based on force can only combat non-violent resistance on their plane of violence. It always seeks to lower and deface

ment, so that Sir James Crerar is entirely wrong in tracing the dacoities of Borsad to the Satyagraha movement that preceded them.

It is true that non-violence is a game in which each side desires to draw the enemy far into his own camp. Gandhi does this by making a decision

difficult for the Government of India by impaling them on the horns of a dilemma, while Government are only waiting for a psychological moment to strike Gandhi and his movement, so that it is not the physical force of the British in India that must ultimately defeat Gandhi, for if they chose they could electrocute him in the twinkling of an eye. But they could not do it. Let us not be arrogant and say they dare not do it. Gandhi, if he chose, might create anarchy in the country by liberating forces of disorder in a moment. But he would not do it. It is not therefore the palpable or the ponderable, but it is the impalpable and the imponderable, it is not the physical, but the spiritual that wins ultimately. Both sides know it. Even the apostles of violence know it, and not only know it but also are forced to act upon it. That is the potency of the non-violent movement. In that view and to that extent it is also its success and triumph. It may be a new experiment in the domain of human psychology and of international arbitrament, but it is none the less a powerful weapon, free from taint itself and untainting in turn. It is truly puzzling and perplexing to the men that do not understand its philosophy and its ethics, its psychology and its strategy. It is not a vain glorious claim of the non-co-operator, but the admission of a Viceroy like Lord Reading. "I am truly perplexed and puzzled," said he in December 1921. So he was, and so should Lord Irwin be. That is the very purpose of the movement and that is its result. But it is not a wicked or a vicious result. It is a result which is bound to disengage the best energies of the Viceroy and engage his best sympathies and affections. On the courage, the sagacity, the statesmanship which the Viceroy and the British can display at this moment will depend the future of England and India.

summarise a few questions and Gandhiji's answers to them.

Q. What sort of Government do you want?

A. I want a Government that would obey and carry out the wishes of the people.

Q. You want a democracy?

A. I am not interested in words, and I never worry myself about the form of government.

Q. But don't you mind methods?

A. I do mind them very much indeed, but I don't mind the form.

Q. Then you would not mind a monarchy?

A. I said form and machinery do not much matter to me.

Q. Well then, tell me what form your democracy will take?

A. I do not know; the method alone interests me, and by method I mean the agency through which the wishes of the people are reached. There are only two methods: one is that of fraud and force; the other is that of non-violence and truth. Force always includes fraud, non-violence always excludes it.

Q. Can't you have fraud with non-violence?

A. No. Impossible. Fraud itself is a species of violence.

Q. Well, I have seen fraud associated with non-violence. China is reputed to be one of the most peaceful countries in the world, and if I were to tell you about the frauds there, you would be shocked.

A. I repeat, words do not capture my imagination. As a people, the Chinese are one of the most peaceful in the world, but that peace cannot be real and voluntary if there is fraud in it. If I harbour ill will in my breast but do not express it in acts, I am still violent. By non-violence or peace I mean the peace which comes through inner strength. If I have that peace, that non-violence, I won't have any hate in me. Violence does not necessarily mean bodily harm. What I want to impress on every one is that I do not want India to reach her goal through questionable means. Whether that is possible or not is another question. It is sufficient for my present purpose if the person who thinks out the plan and leads the people is absolutely above-board and has non-violence and truth in him. Non-violence works organically, not mechanically. It was for that reason that I asked for unrestricted authority from the Working Committee of the Congress to work out my plan of non-violence.

Boycott of Foreign Goods v. C. D.

Q. Don't you think, Gandhiji, boycott of foreign goods would be more potent than civil disobedience?

A. Years ago I heard that futile cry and I replaced it by one for the boycott of foreign cloth. It made some impression, but that of foreign goods made none at all.

Q. My impression is that in Bengal boycott of British goods was tried with success, but no other province took it up.

A. No. It fizzled out. The mills in Ahmedabad and Bombay defrauded the nation by sending spurious cloth; and when genuine mill cloth was sent, exorbitant prices were charged.

Q. That is what I mean to say. The thing was not tried seriously.

A. If it was not, it means that the people did not want to. So far as I am concerned, I never believed in it and so I could never back it.

Q. But would it not be easier to handle foreign cloth boycott than civil disobedience?

A. No. It is far more difficult. In one case you want the co-operation of 300 million people. In the other, even if you have an army of ten thousand defiant men and women, your work is done.

Q. Why? They can be all clapped in jail and nothing more will happen thereafter.

A. Let them try the experiment. They will have to hang these men before they could dismiss them from their minds. If these men are trusty and true their very presence will worry the Government unto death.

Q. Will they worry Government even in prison?

A. For one thing they can't keep them there for any length of time. The fact is that we never had even 5,000 full civil resisters in 1921. Every political prisoner is not necessarily a civil resister.

The Risk of Violence

Q. Will not your movement lead to violence?

A. It may, though I am trying my best to prevent any outbreak of violence. Today there is greater risk of violence, in the absence of any safety-valve in the shape of a movement of non-violence like the one I am contemplating.

Q. Yes, I have heard you say that you are launching this campaign for the very purpose of stopping violence.

A. It is one argument, but that is not the most conclusive argument. The other and most conclusive argument for me is that if non-violence has to prove its worth, it must prove its worth today. It must cease to be the passive or even important instrument that it has come to be looked upon in certain quarters. And when it is exercised in the most effective way, must act in spite of the most fatal outward obstructions. In fact non-violence by its very nature must neutralise all outward obstruction. On the contrary, inward obstacles in the shape of fraud, hatred, and illwill would be fatal to the movement. Up to now I used to say, 'Let me get control over the forces of violence.' It is growing upon me now that it is only by setting of the force of non-violence in motion that I can get those elements under control.

But I hear people say, 'History will have to repeat itself in India.' Let it repeat itself, if it must. I for one must not postpone the movement unless I am to be guilty of the charge of cowardice. I must fight unto death the system based on violence and thus bring under control the force of political violence. When real organic non-violence is set to work, the masses also will react manfully.

A Miracle

Q. But after you are removed, the movement will no longer be in your control?

A. In South Africa the movement was not in my control during the latter part of it, when it gained considerable momentum without any action on my part. Thousand joined the movement instinctively. I had not even seen the faces of them, much less known them. They joined because they felt that they must. They had possibly only heard my name, but they saw in the twinkling of an eye that it was a movement for their liberation; they knew that there was a man prepared to fight the £3 tax and they took the plunge. And against what odds? Their mines were converted into jails; the men who oppressed them day and night were appointed warders over them. They knew that there would be hell let loose on them. And yet they did not waver or falter. It was a perfect miracle.

The Opportunity of a Lifetime

Q. But would not the movement add to the already numerous divisions existing in the country?

A. I have no such fear. The forces of disunion can be kept under control, even as the forces of violence. You may say that there is fear elsewhere. The party of violence may not respond to my advances and the masses might behave unthinkingly. I am an optimist and have

sapphires and rubies, moonstones and cat's eyes made the night shine with tenfold more brilliance than day. Women of perfect beauty were in all stages and postures of sleep and repose and dalliance and sport. Many were pining for the love of Ravana who had forgotten all his dames after he had conceived his passion for Sita. *Vina*† and *mridanga*‡ and the sweet voices of the beauties of heaven entranced some, inflamed the passions in the hearts of others and burned the hearts of yet others by calling up memories of their absent lovers. There were dicers playing on golden boards, betting garlands of pearls and the crown jewels of conquered kings. There were Rakshasa beauties dancing and singing sensual songs forgetting sleep.

From Young India''

The Choice before Students

BY M. K. GANDHI

It has been often said that the money spent on national education in general and the Gujarat Vidyapith in particular has been so much waste. In my opinion the Gujarat Vidyapith by its supreme sacrifice has more than justified its existence, the hopes entertained by its authors and the grants made to it by donors. For the Vidyapith has suspended its literary activities save for boys under 16 who are already under training there. The teachers and students of over 15 years of age have offered their services as volunteers and nearly forty students with the teachers are already in the field. A class for giving fifteen days' emergency training in connection with Satyagraha has been opened for the sake of those who may need such training. I congratulate the students and the teachers on the promptitude with which they have acted. I may state that twenty of these are with me on the march. They are divided into two parties, both preceding the 80 pilgrims to make preparations in

* Ravana.

† The most melodious of Indian musical instruments. It has four or seven strings and countless stops.

‡ The soft-sounding drum.

son or daughter to what is after all the truest education that can be conceived in the existing circumstances of the country.

Let me distinguish between the call of 1920 and the present call. The call of 1920 was for emptying Government institutions and bringing into being national ones. It was a call for preparation. Today the call is for engaging in the final conflict, *i.e.*, for mass civil disobedience. This may or may not come. It will not come, if those who have been hitherto the loudest in their cry for liberty have no action in them. If the salt loses its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? The students are expected to precipitate a crisis not by empty meaningless cries but by mute dignified, unchallengeable action worthy of students. It may again be that the students have no faith in self-sacrifice, and less in non-violence. Then naturally they will not and need not come out. They may then, like the revolutionaries, wait and see what nonviolence in action can do. It will be sportsmanlike for them either to give themselves wholeheartedly to this non-violent revolt or to remain neutral, and (if they like) critical, observers of the developing events. They will disturb and harm the movement, if they will act as they choose and without fitting in with the plan of the authors or even in defiance of them. This I know, that if civil disobedience is not developed to the fullest extent possible now, it may not be for another generation. The choice before the students is clear. Let them make it. The awakening of the past ten years has not left them unmoved. Let them take the final plunge.

Talks before the Trek

BY MAHADEV DESAI

Words don't capture Me

There was no limit to the number of visitors coming to the Ashram recently. The prayer ground, the sanctity of which had been broken by press reporters, was fast losing the character of a prayer ground as crowds swelled the congregation, not so much to attend the prayer as to hear Gandhiji unfold his 'plans.' I narrated in a previous article how the 'plans' were unfolded, if at all. In this I

an abiding faith in human nature. The party of violence will give me fair play and the masses will act rightly by instinct. It is possible that I may be living in a fool's paradise. But no general can possibly provide for all contingencies. For me it is the opportunity of a lifetime. The movement is none of my seeking. Almost in spite of myself I was irresistibly drawn to Calcutta. I entered into a compromise to which I was driven. The period of two years I changed to one, simply because it did not involve any moral principle. In Lahore I had to conceive and frame practically every resolution. There I saw the forces of violence and non-violence in full play, acting side by side; and I found that non-violence ultimately triumphed over violence.

How is the Time Ripe now ?

Q. You said some time ago that the time was not ripe for civil disobedience. What has happened between that time and today that has helped you to alter your view ?

A. I am quite positive that it is fully ripe. The reason I will tell you. Nothing has happened externally, but the internal conflict in me, which was the only barrier, has ceased; and I am absolutely certain now that the campaign had been long overdue. I might have started it long before this.

Q. And what was that internal conflict ?

A. You know I have always been guided solely by my attitude towards non-violence, but I did not know then how to translate that attitude into action in the face of growing violence. But now I see as clearly as daylight that, pursuing the course that I have adopted, I minimise the risk I am taking.

Q. Are you sure that the salt campaign will lead you to jail ?

A. I have not a shadow of doubt that it will. How long exactly it will take is more than I can say, but I feel that it will be much sooner than most people would be inclined to think. I expect a crisis to be soon reached which would lead to a proper Conference—not a Round Table Conference, but a Square Table one where everybody attending it would know his bearings. The exact lineaments of that Conference I cannot at present depict, but it will be a Conference between equals met to lay their heads together to devise ways and means for the establishment of an Independent Constitution in India.

About that Interview

Q. Were you not responsible for allowing the Viceregal negotiations to come to an abrupt end ?

A. I know that is the impression in certain quarters; the public blamed me for a time, but now it has come to understand the true position.

Q. Are you quite sure that in the position you took, the influence of the younger generation did not weigh with you ?

A. No. Not a bit. I had never been sanguine about the Round Table Conference. I went of course as far as I could. But the central thing I always insisted on was that the Conference should apply itself to a scheme of Dominion Status suited to the needs of India. If the Viceroy had said 'Yes,' I should gladly have asked him to proceed to the other points.

Q. Then you had no objection to the scheme coming into operation some years hence ?

A. If the scheme was such as to come into operation at a future time, I should rule it out. But I may not talk about our interview with the Viceroy. The public might know more about it some day. I can assure you however that there was no question of a real Dominion Status scheme being framed.

The Eleven Points

Q. Just a question about your now famous eleven points. If some of them are conceded, would there be room for a compromise ?

A. If they were to concede a few main points and couple the concession with a promise that the rest would be conceded as soon as possible, I would be prepared to consider a proposition for a Conference. But the justice of all those demands must be admitted. You will agree that there is nothing new about them. Most have been handed down to us from Dadabhai Naoroji's time.

Q. Supposing they conceded your demand about the reduction of civil and military expenditure, would you not regard it as a sufficient proof of their *bona fides* ?

A. I should seriously reconsider my position, but it would all depend on the spirit in which the concession was made.

C.R.'s Appeal for Funds

I am writing this appeal to request that every one who is not at once prepared himself to join the campaign of civil resistance but feels that those who are prepared for suffering and sacrifice are worthy of assistance and sympathy, may at once render us that assistance and sympathy in such form or degree as his circumstances may permit. There is room for every one to take a part in this great struggle of right against wrong.

The signs are most propitious. I am convinced that the end of our travail is in sight and that God will help us now to shake off this foreign rule. Tamil Nad young men are eager to join the fray and their eagerness is not in this present campaign mere impatience or enthusiasm but a considered determination counting all costs.

Conscious of my limitations and the difficulties in the performance of the task entrusted to me by the Tamil Nad Congress Committee I appeal to all to come to my aid and lighten the task. Funds are wanted for this campaign. We have been levying many taxes for national work and the public have generously responded in spite of interested counteracting forces. The present campaign has come upon us almost without notice and compels me to appeal again to friends to unloose their purse strings despite any inconvenience, doubts, or difference. The goal is sacred and common to us all. When eager youth is crowding to be taken to battle it is up to us to lead them and I appeal to all to sustain them in their brave fight.

All remittances may be sent to Sjt. A. Vaidyanathier, Sandaipet, West Madura, or to Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, Trichinopoly, or to Sjt. K. Bhashyam, Luz, Mylapore, Madras, and a letter of intimation addressed to me.

Talks of Vallabhbhai

"58 men have given their signatures in our village, 12 have not yet. But that does not matter," said one. "All excepting the village headman have signed the pledge," said another, "but the headman is not hostile to us." "Our Patel has already paid up and a Vania from a neighbouring village also, but we never counted on them," said a third one. "There is a section among us which is recalcitrant, but we believe as though they were not of us. Our section will never pay, come what may, and trust the rest to the will of God," said a fourth one. Quite a large majority said: "All have given their signatures. There is no fear of any one flinching." Three or four said with

See review of my other book over, on other side

The whole Western World with its fondness for violence and yet its knowledge of Christian and Buddhist ethics, is in a state of inner conflict and disintegrated personality and needs a sort of psycho-analysis and suggestion to free it." It seems that this new kind of weapon, *Ahimsa* and *Satyagraha* promise to revolutionise human relations on a new basis.

"The whole Western World with its fondness for violence and yet its knowledge of Christian and Buddhist ethics, is in a state of inner conflict and disintegrated personality and needs a sort of psycho-analysis and suggestion to free it." It seems that this new kind of weapon, *Ahimsa* and *Satyagraha* promise to revolutionise human relations on a new basis.

contributing towards the success of his cause.

contagious and stimulating. That is another factor of sincere belief and perhaps in most cases the only will to suffer and die for a cause is an incontestable proof. Strong conviction of any sort is very important" is an important condition of Victory. To be prepared to endure any suffering. This "Will to victory" has an indomitable will to victory and attitude.

even though the attacker gives up his militant aggressive together are much stronger than conscious will-power and matter of inner attitude. Imagination and suggestion the understanding will be more emotional than intellectual, attacker, and he becomes amenable to compromise. But present "this tends to heighten the suggestibility of the element of emotion in the opponent. "If there is a crowd The spectacle of bravely endured suffering creates

The Will to Conquer

pardonable pride : " Hold me responsible for the whole village. My village will stand through thick and thin." Then said Sjt. Vallabhbhai to them :

"I still ask you to think twice before you take the plunge. Do not derive comfort from the feeling that you have as your leader a fighter like myself. Forget me and forget my companions, fight if you feel that you must resist oppression and injustice. Do not take the plunge lightly. If you miserably fail, you will fail not to rise again for several years, but if you succeed you will have done much to lay the foundations of Swaraj. Now I am going to ask you to take charge of the resolution, you will move it and you will second and support it. None of you will speak on it. It will be the expression of your own free will and choice."

The people of Chorasi taluka,.....came to Bardoli and request Sjt. Vallabhbhai to join Chorasi with Bardoli. "I know very well that you have suffered the same injustice," said Sjt. Vallabhbhai to them, "but I am afraid it is beyond my power today to organise two talukas. There is no doubt that if Bardoli succeeds, you will also be treated in the same way ; you had better watch and wait. The conditions in your taluka also present peculiar difficulties. A very large percentage of the occupants in your taluka are non-cultivating residents of Surat and Rander. You cannot expect them to join you. They would be the first to pay up and place you in a sorry predicament. No one should dissuade you strongly from thinking of Satyagrah. Rest assured that if Bardoli succeeds in getting justice, Chorasi will not be denied it."

After this they met in open conference. Sjt. Vallabhbhai made a brief speech :

"As I told you last time I addressed to H. E. the Governor a letter asking for an impartial tribunal. I have had a reply which is no reply. My letter, I am told, has been sent to the Revenue Department for consideration and disposal. When they will have finished considering the letter we do not know, neither can we wait for their decision. If the Government had said that pending consideration of my letter they had resolved to suspend the collection operations, and asked us also to adjourn our Conference, I should gladly have complied. But now I have simply to await your decision. Since I met you last time I have looked up the law to see if in spite of being iniquitous the orders of enhancement satisfied the letter of the law. I have failed to see that they are even within the law. They are in contravention of Section 107 of the L. K. Code. The Settlement Officer had based his report on the existing system, and though I have no end of things to say about his report—the principal being that he never troubled himself to visit the villages and hold conference with the villagers, as is at present being done in Olpad taluka—I must say that he had adhered to the old system. The Settlement Commissioner adopted a different principle and regrouped the villages on that principle. In the event of such an alteration, Government are bound to issue a fresh notification, but in the

From Young India

Mar 1930

HINDU MUSLIM QUESTION

[The speech delivered at Broach on 26th ultimo deals with the communal question and is rather important. A full summary is therefore given below. M.K.G.]

A Muslim youth has sent me questions on the Hindu Muslim problem. One of them is, 'Do you expect to win Swaraj through your own single effort or assisted merely by the Hindus?' I have never dreamt that I could win Swaraj merely through my effort or assisted only by the Hindus. I stand in need of the assistance of Musalmans, Parsis, Christians, Sikhs, Jews and all other Indians. I need the assistance even of Englishmen. But I know too that all this combined assistance is worthless if I have not one other assistance that is from God. All is vain without His help. And if He is with this struggle no other help is necessary.

But to realise His help and guidance in this struggle, I need your blessings, the blessings of all communities. The blessings of thousands of men and women belonging to all communities that have attended this march are to me a visible sign of the hand of God in this struggle.

Now is the Time

I know that there are occasions when the hand of God has to be traced in the curses of men. But this is not such an occasion. Today I am doing what the nation has been yearning for during the past ten years. Have I not been rebuked for delaying civil resistance? Have not friends angrily said, "You are stopping the progress of the nation towards its goal? You have only to say, 'Let there be civil resistance, behold! there is Swaraj.'" There's some truth in the taunt. Full civil resistance does mean Swaraj. But I was staying my hand. I had no confidence

in myself. I was straining my ear to listen to the still small voice within, but only up to yesterday there was no response. It was in Lahore I had told a journalist that I saw nothing on the horizon to warrant civil resistance. But suddenly, as in a flash, I saw the light in the Ashram, Self-confidence returned. Englishmen and some Indian critics have been warning me against the hazard. But the voice within is clear. I must put forth all my effort or retire altogether and for all time from public life. I feel that now is the time or it will be never.

And so I am out for battle and am seeking help on bended knee from this white beard (pointing to Sgt. Abbas Tyabji) as also the little girls. For in this battle even they can help; and thank God, they are eager to do so. I have insistent letters from them demanding enlistment.

The Satyagrahi's Strength

Thus the answer to the Muslim youth's question is complete. I need the help of all races and from all climes.

A Satyagrahi has no power he can call his own. All the power he may seem to possess is from and of God. He

friendliness in the eyes and in the speech of the Musalmans who along with the rest have lined our route or attended the meetings. They have even given material aid.

therefore moves towards his goal carrying the world's opinion with him. Without the help of God he is lame, blind, groping.

Yet I know that I have not the Ali Brothers with me. Maulana Shaikat Ali will no longer have me in his pocket. Do not think, I do not miss him. I hold no distinction between him and blood brother. His resistance therefore can only be short-lived. If truth is in me, the brothers must capitulate. They cannot long keep out of the battle. I crave too the assistance of Englishmen. It was neither empty formula nor a touch of vanity that prompted me to send an English friend with my letter to the Viceroy. But choosing Reginald Reynolds as my messenger, I sealed the bond between them and me. For my enmity is not against them, it is against their rule. I seem to be born to be an instrument to compass the end

Ever since 1921 I have been reiterating two words, 'self-purification' and 'self-sacrifice.' God will not assist him without these two. The world is touched by sacrifice. It does not then discriminate about the merits of a cause. Not so God. He is all seeing. He insists on the purity of the cause and on adequate sacrifice therefore. The question was put by a Musalman representing a powerful interest. But had a little Parsi girl representing but a hundred thousand Parsis asked the question, I should have given the same answer and said, "Without the help of Parsis there is no Swaraj." I am thankful to be able to say that I have had during the march abundant proof of the blessings of these communities. I have read

of that rule. But if a hair of an English head was touched I should feel the same grief as I should over such a mishap to my brother. I say them as a friend, 'Why will you not understand that your rule is ruining this country? It has got to be destroyed even though you may pound us to powder or drown us. We must declare what we feel.'

The Congress Pledge

The second question is 'Under Swaraj how many seats will Musalmans have in legislatures?' What answer can I return to such a question? If I were Viceroy of India I should say to the Musalmans, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis, &c., 'Take what you like, the balance will go to the Hindus.' It is true that the Sanatani Hindu will never let me become Viceroy. The fact is that I am unfit to do such accounting. But it should be sufficient to know that the Congress has pledged itself not to accept any communal solution that does not satisfy the parties concerned. I am bound by that pledge. For the Congress all are one. They are all Indians and therefore their freedom is guaranteed. No more can be expected by any community.

Civil resistance will merely give the power to the nation to assert her will. But when the time comes for its assertion, the document embodying the will will have to be sealed by all the communities. Thus without the co-operation of all communities, there is no independence.

But what should we do meanwhile? We must at least be true to the salt we eat. Her starving millions are the salt of India's earth. To be true to them we must free the salt from a tax which they have to pay equally with the rich and in the same proportion as the rich. In our ignorance we have been paying this inhuman imposition.

If I collect Bazar's writings on Satyagraha, include those on minor elements of discipline - aiming drill so to say

Does the fact of resistance & wanting them mean that when the body is badly out of balance it is dangerous to have

food fermenting inside it?
Or does it mean that the
stomach must not be working
when we are trying to
attain harmony? then
link up with fasting as a
element of Sadhana!

In my NVR book cut out
the reference to U of Calif in
postnote in Ec chap.

may 8

I'm adding note re whether
NVR would lead to violence
re read Bayan before Hunter
come + add latent danger for
present struggle.

May 10 Re Begun's political ideas:-

(1) By charakha he

- (a) remedies unemployment
- (b) begins to restore balance between industry & agriculture
- (c) lays start for ag improvement
- (d) increases purchasing power ^{present} of ~~present~~
- (e) unites intelligentsia & working class
- (f) provides work for middle class youth
- (g) ~~to~~ infuses hope & begins restoration of villages
- (h) uses non-violence
- (i) makes ^{cc.} ~~polit~~ united & sound & then ~~polit~~ union follows
- (j) ends British & foreign exploitation of India

(2) By campaign of untouchability he

- (a) creates union sound

(3) By food reform he promotes health

(4) By sanitary reform he does likewise and creates self respect & respect of others for Indians

(5) By friendships for all communities & unions he creates union

(6) By non-violent resistance he

(a) ends Br. domination

(b) ends class domination

(d) ends burden of armaments & wars

(e) creates friendliness ^{& respect} with all foreign countries

(f) ends all tyrannies

(g) provides finest possible basis of association

(h) checks capitalism

(i) " crime

(j) aids education

- (h) promotes health
- (i) stimulates thought to solve all
social ^{and political} conflicts
- (j) builds $\frac{1}{2}$ of g. on earth

Compare these with the objects of
the State as set forth by Plato, by
Machiavelli & other famous
authorities

Be that, every country & tribe
seem to see such a merit
together & all have welcomed.
Doubtless that condemnation
is not a large cause.

May 11. My native article predictions were
confirmed in the London Times.
article of May 9 announcing the
condemnation of Bagnis' arrest by
The Bombay Presidency Association of
which Mrs. Dinshaw Petit is
president, by the resignation of
Mr. Ratanji Moraji the Bombay
non-Modem ~~from the~~ of the Council
of State as a protest on the author-
less repression culminating in Gandhi's
arrest; & by Mr. Jayahans letter
condemning the govt for not
announcing the personal & terms of

Also by the report today that Patel is calling
for refusal to pay land tax plus moral boycott of
all govt servants.

reference of the Round Table Conference;

→ ~~The failure of the Egyptian~~
also by the All India Muslims

conference resolutions expressing
suspicion about the govt commu-
iqué about Peshawar.

The failure of Egyptian negotiations
will have an adverse effect on
Indian Muslims. Perhaps the
Egyptians stuck out for more
thinking to use the present
critical position in India to their
advantage.

Mohammed Ali's request to Viceroy
not to arrest Gandhi might have
been on the theory that it would
throw so many Moderates to Bayn that
the Muslims would have no chance
left & would have to fall in with
Gandhi or submit entirely to

British terms because they would
have nothing left to bargain
with. Or it might have
been in the hope that ~~they~~
~~must~~ would be could make
some of the Mohammedans sym-
pathetic to Gandhi keep allied
to him (Ali). Or he might

May 12

The British want to
delay handing over govt to
Indians until they can corrupt
enough Indians with money
ideology so as to have them
do the exploiting for the
British. But they dare
not let the Indians ^{now} do it,
because the loss of profits
would be too immense.

British are blinded by their own ideology & unconscious assumptions, e.g. that only the British or white race can "guide" India; that the money profit must not be surrendered

The British, full of the ideology of violence, are relieved now that Gandhi is imprisoned. The N.V.R. ^{movement} believes that not till now has the force of N.V.R. really begun to work, & that from now on the trouble for England will begin. When Gandhi went in in 1920 he went in alone, as it were, - not asking others to fight on. This time he ~~lets~~ told people to fight on & that he appealed them really to

rise up upon his "interment".

I expect that ~~the~~ some of the Liberals will swing to Gandhi because of the reputation, while others of the Jayakhan type will have to wait till the Simon Report is ~~up~~ out before the whole bitter truth of England's determination to concede nothing real will dawn upon their stupid minds.

If more ^{human} food can be produced by ~~not~~ devoting land to vegetables than to grazing for meat, it means that the latter form of agriculture in a densely populated country holds off or prevents the living of people & ∴ is in a sense

carnalistic. No wonder the Hindus
are horrified by it.

The only truly honest & keen article
about India in any English journal
is the letter from J. H. Munro in the
Spectator of April 26.

May 14.

All the British reports about
"having the situation under control",
refers to violence and not to
non-violent resistance. The
more Satyagrahis are imprison-
ed and the longer they stay in
jail, the more does their
influence count. The Govt has
announced a date for the Round
Table conference, but have refused
to announce its personnel or its

agenda, etc. How will that effect
men like Jayahar? Even the
date is qualified by a hint that
if the atmosphere is not right
that nothing will be done.
The publication of the the Simon
report on June 10 & 24 will help
further to disillusion the Indian
Moderates. Meanwhile, further
opinion by Govt will help
prepare their minds to realize
that Gandhi is right.

The British press reports confuse
the violent & non-violent movements
& class them all as a result of Gandhi
whereas they really are all both
reactions to British policy.

"Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail
Or knock the breast; no weakness, no contempt,
Dispraise, or blame, nothing but well and fair
And what may quiet us in a death so noble."

THESE famous lines from Milton's *Samson Agonist*
may not unreasonably be applied to all the
circumstances of the death of Mr. Robert Bridges.

and here is a demonstration of its active significance. Mr. Roy Campbell has found our English language weary with intellectual age, and drowsing over the close fire of education. He has stung it to life, to rebellion, and has made it proud, eloquent, and young again.

Such is the candour and *naïveté* of genius, that sooner or later a man possessing it will coin a phrase which is a sort of synopsis of his whole personality and work. It comes about by that divine insistence—some would call it egotism—arising from the directness of vision which is always a characteristic of genius. That quality marks its distinction from mere talent. Mr. Campbell again and again flashes out such self-revelations, and I quote one which says concisely what this poet is, and where he stands in relation to his fellow-mortals and to the still more removed compulsion of destiny :—

“There is no sea so wide, no waste so steril
But holds a rapture for the sons of strife :
There shines upon the topmost peak of peril
A throne for spirits that abound in life :
There is no joy like theirs who fight alone,
Whom lust or gluttony have never tied,
Who in their purity have built a throne.
And in their solitude a tower of pride.”

The line italicized by me is a key to open the way into this poet's world. It is a world of superb extravagance and
beings ; monsters, omnipotencies, and Olympian
in the heavens, the seas,

Citizenship for Pacifists

SIR: With Congress in session, we are bending all our energies to obtain a speedy hearing for the bill introduced by Representative Anthony J. Griffin of New York to amend the naturalization laws. You will recall that his bill, introduced two days after the Supreme Court's denial of citizenship to Rosika Schwimmer, reads: "That no person mentally, morally and otherwise qualified shall be disbarred by reason of his or her religious views or philosophical opinions with respect to the lawfulness of war as a means of settling international disputes."

The refusal of citizenship to Professor Macintosh of Yale, Mrs. Margaret Dorland Webb and Miss Martha Jane Graber has aroused the country to the danger of this continued denial of freedom of thought and of speech. With an alert and intelligent public opinion behind us, our committee works to urge an early hearing and a speedy enactment of Mr. Griffin's bill to grant citizenship to men and women refusing to bear arms though otherwise qualified in every respect.

LOLA MAVERICK LLOYD,
New York City. Chairman, Griffin Bill Committee.

Mr. Cole resembles Mr. Hobson in the quality of his sincerity and courage. He explains in his preface that he has written his book because he began to ask himself whether he really believed his own propagandist speeches. In his brilliant introductory chapter he strikes the same note as Mr. Hobson. It is the business of the politician "to make the world safe, not for democracy or any other high-sounding principle, but for the every day pleasures and the common happiness of ordinary folk. It is for this that he seeks to make the world's foundations sure, for if men are not to find happiness in the world, what does it matter if the world goes crashing down in ruin?" Starting from this base he examines the prospects and the perils of the elaborate and sensitive economic system on which that happiness depends. There are two classes of people for whom the economic system is dangerously simple; those who say that it is all right if you leave it alone, and those who say that it would be all right if you put the State in the place of the capitalist. Mr. Cole has no patience with either of these illusions, and his book is largely written to make people who take refuge from the trouble of thinking, in the formulas of the platform, address themselves to the actual problems that have to be solved.

very few workers were victimized for having taken part in the General Strike. The same spirit was manifest throughout the industry, and

it is for the sake of the constitution of the Council, of course, was violated in the General Strike, but at the first Council meeting held after the stoppage not one recriminatory speech was made, both sides being equally determined to forget the past in the vital work of re-creating the Council. The same spirit was manifest throughout the industry, and

German and Russian advocates.

Three papers about it were read at the Contraceptive section of the International Congress of the World League for Sexual Reform in London last September. Since then a number of doctors have been using it in their private practice, and it has been available for the poor women who attend the Cromer Street Birth-Control Centre (59, Cromer Street, London, W.C.1), where some eighty cases have already been dealt with in this way.

falling at his feet; it is the uplifting feeling that the tide has turned—that, by howsoever little, things are going better for him. That is the Service which it is hoped England, stimulated by cotton week, will do for this great industry. Lancashire can carry its attack to other fields, and there are fields indeed waiting for what Lancashire can supply. For example, Sir Ernest Thompson, chairman of the Cotton Trade Statistical Bureau, recently pointed out the almost incredible fact that, though most of the world's cotton spinning is done by machinery, more than one-tenth of the world's weaving is still done by hand, "and this," he added, "is at least equal to, and possibly more than, the whole of the world's present international trade in cloth." That is one outlet, and there are others which explode the view held by some that so far as cotton goes the world is "hooked up."

This Cotton Week is Lancashire's most determined effort since the war to get into swim again. If our own people will see the sense of giving the boat a good push off there is no telling what wider waters it may navigate.

The method requires the fitting of a small apparatus by a skilled medical man or woman who places it in position in the body. Here it remains untouched for the space of a year, after which it is removed and replaced. It depends on the skill of the doctor, not on the skill, intelligence, or care of the woman herself. It demands none of the repeated accessory manipulations which some women seem to find too difficult or too inconvenient or too tiresome.

Cases have been observed carefully for a period of ten years, and careful investigations made by gynaecologists, pathologists, and biological chemists, to determine the effects

of the method on the human body. The results have been completely satisfactory. No inflammatory, septic, or malignant changes have been observed, not a single case of pregnancy has been reported during the wearing of the ring, and after its removal fertility is undiminished.

London - Nation, Athenaeum Apr 12, 1930
BIRTH-CONTROL METHODS

SIR,—In your article on “Population and Birth Control” (page 882, March 29th, 1930) you say “the discovery of a simple and effective contraceptive method will incalculably decrease the misery and increase the happiness of mankind.”

It would appear that such a contraceptive has already been discovered. I refer to the “intra-uterine silver ring” method, which has been used in Germany in some thousands of cases during the past eleven years. One German gynaecologist alone has applied it in eleven hundred women during that time. I heard of it as long ago as 1926, but took nearly three years to convince myself of its efficiency and harmlessness, for on purely theoretical grounds I mistrusted it. It has been in use in this country only since last July, but up to the present the English experience serves to corroborate the claims made for it by its German and Russian advocates.

Three papers about it were read at the Contraceptive section of the International Congress of the World League for Sexual Reform in London last September. Since then a number of doctors have been using it in their private practice, and it has been available for the poor women who attend the Cromer Street Birth-Control Centre (59, Cromer Street, London, W.C.1), where some eighty cases have already been dealt with in this way.



Pessary



There are certain contra-indications which may render a woman unsuitable for the use of this particular method. But for the vast majority of women it seems a great advance on any contraceptive method previously known to us.

Unfortunately we have not yet discovered any method that can be made available by a penny-in-the-slot arrangement; nor do I think it likely that we ever shall. But why should we expect to? Many people make a curious demand for perfection in the matter of contraceptives. They will apparently be satisfied with nothing less than an absolutely fool-proof method, which can be used by a person without intelligence and yet yield 100 per cent. of success. It must not entail a visit to a doctor; the woman must be able to choose it herself without a special fitting; it must require no expense, no manipulation, no need for cleanliness, no care or trouble of any sort. It must under no conceivable circumstances be able to cause any harm. But why this sudden clamour for perfection exclusively in the matter of contraceptives? We do not demand it concerning spectacles or false teeth. We never hear complaints that spectacles are entirely unsatisfactory, because a person with defective sight cannot go to a shop and pick out for himself a pair which will suit his eyes perfectly. Nobody derides the dentist because he has not invented stock sets of artificial teeth from which the patient may choose a set for himself without any sort of fitting by an expert.

I suggest that some of the contraceptives already available, and particularly the silver ring method, are quite sufficient to offer a reasonably satisfactory measure of control of fertility, if put within reach of the poor as they already are of the rich. And in the meantime the research workers can go on looking for something better. *But we need not wait until they have found it!*—Yours, &c.,

NORMAN HAIRE.

127, Harley Street, W.1.

April 2nd, 1930.

When Marie controlled her fever with aspirin, she developed a sore throat. I.E. When the poison couldn't be burned up with fever, it sought an exit by a new list of mucous membrane.

SCIENCE AND RELIGION.

THE NEW OUTLOOK.

VIEWS OF THREE GENERATIONS.

PLANCK, EINSTEIN, SCHRÖDINGER.

FREE WILL AND THE UNIVERSE.

INSTINCT IN SCIENCE.

The Observer, London
April 13, 1930
(By J. W. N. Sullivan.)

We have become accustomed to the statement that modern physical science has suffered a revolution. We know that the old Victorian conceptions have been abandoned, and that entirely new ones have taken their place.

The two chief theories in modern physics are quantum theory and relativity theory. Modern physics may be said to be shared between them, for the one theory, quantum theory, is concerned with small-scale phenomena, and the other with large-scale phenomena. Relativity theory is concerned with gross matter and with spaces of astronomical dimensions, whereas the quantum theory is our instrument for exploring the mysteries of atomic and subatomic phenomena. At present these two theories are distinct, although it is to be hoped, of course, that a synthesis of them will be achieved.

Most of the puzzles in modern physics are concerned with these two theories—particularly the quantum theory. But more than mere technical puzzles are involved. The present indecision as to the actual status of physical science—a novel and somewhat disconcerting phenomenon—has been brought about by these two theories. What is the real aim and character of science? Does it reveal the nature of reality? Questions such as these have now become acute. Not only philosophers are concerned with them. Scientific men of the most severely practical kind are worried by these questions. Philosophers, as a whole, are not sufficiently intimate with the technical considerations involved to throw any light on the general question, whilst comparatively few scientific workers have sufficient speculative imagination to arrive at valuable conclusions on the subject. Amongst English writers we have two in particular, Professors Whitehead and Eddington, the one a philosopher-mathematician and the other a mathematician-philosopher, who have written in a profound and stimulating manner on this problem, which may justly be regarded as the chief problem now presented to the speculative reason. But their conclusions do not always coincide.

There is no general agreement, at present, as to what it is that science really does tell us about the material universe. In this state of affairs further contributions, from qualified men, may be gratefully received. I therefore thought it of interest to take advantage of a recent opportunity to elicit the views of the actual creators of quantum and relativity theories, Professors Max Planck and Einstein, on some of the problems involved. I also had the good fortune to discuss these matters with Prof. Schrödinger, a leading worker on the new theory of matter, and very representative of the highly trained modern German mathematical physicist. Their opinions are diverse, in some cases startlingly so. It is apparent that the new "orthodoxy" in physical science is still far from being achieved.

Professor Planck was emphatic in his assertion that our present difficulties in physics spring from the persistence in us of certain undesirable mental habits. On our present way of regarding the problem of the propagation of light, for example, there seems to be a pretty hopeless contradiction between the classical theory that light advances through

space on a continually expanding wave-front and the quantum theory that light is shot out in little pellets, as it were. Yet certain extremely well-authenticated experiments confirm one theory, and other equally indubitable experiments confirm the other theory. A light-quantum is, on the evidence, an entity possessing contradictory properties. As Professor Eddington puts it, it is big enough to fill completely the lens of the biggest telescope in the world, and it is also small enough to enter an atom.

Professor Eddington has hinted that quantum theory may indicate that the universe is finally irrational. Professor Planck thinks the difficulty resides wholly in our own insufficient imaginations. He suggests that the notions of space and time may prove inapplicable to the quantum, so that by asking about the size of a quantum we are merely inventing a pseudo-problem. We shall have to transcend our notions of space and time. He offered this solution with perfect serenity, and it is evident that the growing abstractness of physics—its increasing lack of the picturable element—does not distress him in the least. I found that Schrödinger, on the other hand, whose own theory of the atom is completely non-picturable, regarded the present abstractness of physics such as his own as undesirable and transitory. He is confident that physics will, in due time, emerge from its present "shadowland of symbols," and once more furnish a picturable view of the world such as the "plain man" delights in. I found this attitude somewhat unexpected in so very "advanced" a physicist as Schrödinger.

In another important respect, however, he was as advanced as the most revolutionary young student could wish. I refer to his attitude towards the so-called "principle of indeterminacy," which Eddington considers to be as important as the principle of relativity.

This principle, put in non-technical language, asserts that our measurements cannot reveal to us a completely deterministic universe. The principle is fruitful at the present stage of science. But what status are we to assign to this principle? Is it merely a temporarily useful tool for scientific investigation, or is it a profoundly important discovery respecting the character of the universe? Here Schrödinger

is a whole-hogger. He is emphatically of the opinion that the universe is in itself indeterminate. The ultimate happenings in the physical universe are not predestined. We can say what will happen to a large aggregate of elements, such as atoms or electrons, but not what will happen to individual members. And this is not a mere practical disability; it is due to the actual nature of things. Thus something like free-will is placed at the basis of natural phenomena.

Planck is of the exactly opposite opinion. Indeed, he evidently welcomed the question for the opportunity it gave him of expressing his entire disbelief in the "free-will" theory of the universe. Einstein was equally emphatic in his rejection of the view that Nature is, at bottom, undetermined. "I am convinced," he said, "that in the next phase of physics a complete determinism will once again be triumphant."

What are we to think of these opinions? Are they the result of the physical insight peculiar to genius, or are they the result merely of metaphysical prejudices? Most people would find the Schrödinger-Eddington outlook the more picturesque, but one has a curious feeling in the presence of Planck and, still more, of Einstein, that these men possess a sort of scientific wisdom which often cannot be supported by reasoned arguments, but which is, nevertheless, pretty well infallible. Einstein, in one of his most interesting remarks, acknowledged that some of his scientific judgments are based, not on reason, but on feelings. The remark arose out of a discussion of Eddington's extraordinarily interesting conception of the theory of relativity and, in particular, of his attempt to achieve a synthesis of gravitation and electricity similar to that attempted by Einstein in his last famous paper. Einstein admitted that his preference for his own method was a purely subjective matter. He could not prove that Eddington was wrong, but he disliked the method of approach. And as regards Eddington's general conception of science, he made the somewhat startling remark that, if he seriously thought it was true, he would no longer concern himself with physics. He laughed as he said this, but was evidently quite serious. He added, however, that he has a great admiration for Eddington's philosophical acute-

(over)

ness, and for his many-sided creative work in science. It is evident that we have here a sort of conflict of temperaments, of instinctive preferences. It is interesting to know that modern physics is so far from being the objective thing it was supposed to be that such considerations play an active part in the creation of scientific theories.

* **

I found that not only Einstein, but also Planck and Schrödinger, fully acknowledged the subjective element in science. Planck, in particular, had obviously thought a great deal about the matter. Science he regards as a constructed work of art, expressing a certain side of man's nature. Another side is expressed in art and religion. When I objected that science must be more than a work of art, since it gives us knowledge of objective reality, he countered by asking me what reason I had to suppose that art and religion did not give us such knowledge? Science is an art, he insisted, and the fact that it also gives us "objective" knowledge is an indication that art and religion also do so. He regards the distinctions that we at present make amongst these activities as entirely unreal, and he believes that men are now on the way to achieve a synthesis of all three.

* **

Schrödinger has no such fervid imaginings. He does not regard science, art, and religion as comparable, but for the somewhat unexpected reason that he thinks science too insignificant to support such company. When asked whether he thought the present great creative activity in science was some sort of substitute for the creative activity, now so sadly lacking, that used to go into art and religion, he replied, with a sort of surprised boredom, that such a view altogether exaggerated the importance of science. I doubt whether Schrödinger would think modern physics sufficiently firmly based to have any philosophical bearings of great significance. He seemed, indeed, rather amused at its logical incoherence, and at the highly-experimental nature of its mathematics. "We get used to theories we don't understand, and forget their contradictions quite cheerfully," he remarked.

* **

Einstein, on the other hand, goes even farther than Planck—so far, at least, as present-day science, art, and religion are concerned. He not only thinks

that science has affinities with religion, but he stated, with the utmost deliberation and emphasis, that he regards modern science as the only religious manifestation in the world at the present day. Further, he regards it as springing wholly from a deep religious feeling, and he believes that, in the absence of such feeling, the modern speculations in science could not come into existence. The art of the present day he regards as worthless, and worthless precisely for the reason that it has lost its religious kernel.

* **

The views reported here, although diverse, do at least show us that the conception of science that exists in the minds of its chief modern creators is something very different from the stultified materialism that has bothered so many imaginative people for so long. The scientists, purely in virtue of their single-minded devotion to science, have burst the bounds of that old scientific universe. In the new universe, it appears, our religious insight is granted as great validity as our scientific insight. Indeed, in the opinion of the greatest creator of them all, our religious insight is the source and guide of our scientific insight.

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ABOUT RUSSIA, Sir Ernest Benn (6s. net).
NAVAL WARFARE, Admiral Sir H. W.

Richmond (5s. net).

SCRAPS OF PAPER, India's Broken Treaties,

A. P. Nicholson (21s. net).

THE WAY TO WORLD PEACE, H. G. Wells
(1s. net).

THE PRESENT AND FUTURE OF RELIGION,

C. E. M. Joad (10s. 6d. net)

NOVELS

JOAN OF THE PILCHARD, Mary Gaunt
(1s. net)

1930

When X told us that when we
 pray we must believe that the
 prayer is already granted, does
 that imply that we must
 proceed as far as possible then to
act as if it were already granted?

The English press reports say
 nothing about the progress, extent
 & effects of NVR, because they do
 not understand it. They report only
 the violence, which they understand.

Containing
 the official documents connected with the establishment of
 the Bank.

THE THEORY OF INTEREST

As
 determined by Impatience to spend Income and Oppor-
 tunity to invest it. By IRVING FISHER, Professor
 of Economics, Yale University. 25s. net.

THE MODERN CAUSES OF WAR

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF SOVEREIGNTY. By R. G. HAWTREY. (Longmans. 9s. net.)

"Prominent among the causes of war are the motives of economic expansion or exploitation by the extension of sovereignty. It is these motives which form the principal theme of this book." These sentences from Mr. Hawtrey's preface explain the heading given to this review. His whole exposition centres on war; and his final chapter, to which the others lead up, discusses the questions of war and its avoidance in the future. He says that the principal cause of war is war itself, by which he means that "the aim for which war is judged worth while is most often something which itself affects military power." The economic causes of war and the extension of sovereignty come in because military power depends largely, if not mainly, on economic power, which again depends on the extent of territory under the sovereignty of each State. Sovereignty implies law and order in the territory; but there is as yet no sovereignty over the States, which control matters at home but are left to struggle with each other for the benefit of their own subjects. The international position is therefore anarchical—that is to say, differences between States exercising sovereignty are determined, in the last resort, by force, after diplomacy, which is "potential war," has done what it can in the same interests.

These themes are elaborated in a series of very thoughtful and original chapters, which were primarily lectures delivered at the Lowell Institute of Boston. They will gain by being presented in a book; for the style is often very condensed and it is sometimes difficult to follow the sequence of thought at first sight, so that hearers of the spoken word may well have been puzzled. This difficulty disappears on attentive reading. Mr. Hawtrey begins by tracing the origin of sovereignty and ownership and their relations. In our own post-Roman civilization they were originally united in the feudal system, in which the lord of a territory exercised the rights of sovereignty as well as those of ownership; his sway was both political and economic. Eventually, through a series of changes, the two became separated; political authority was placed in the hands of the monarch while land ownership became purely economic. The conditions which led up to this separation were partly military and partly civil. On the military side was a tendency to combination, together with taxation, developed from feudalism, which originated in military tenure; on the civil side

was the growth of legislation, which became more general and authoritative. And over all was the Church, which upheld the Roman idea of a single unified legislative authority. From the separation of sovereignty from property, he says, the modern theory of sovereignty has been evolved. It is essentially a revival of the Roman idea; and he thinks that since mankind reverts to that idea when civilization is fairly established the fact proves that the theory of sovereignty is firmly founded in logic and reality. The origin of sovereignty, thus sketched on broad lines, is followed by an examination of its functions in relation to property. The rights of property are bounded by the Legislature, which exercises supreme power and may tax, requisition, expropriate, or confiscate at will; but in practice is limited by tradition and opinion and partly also by administrative obstacles. In addition, it interferes with property in other ways, chiefly in connexion with monopolies. All this in an old and settled country; in a new and undeveloped one special problems affecting property arise. Generally speaking, under the existing order of society the State will leave the risks and profits to private enterprise, after providing for necessary public utilities, and in allocating applications will favour its own nationals. If the object is welfare only, well and good; but that is not the only aim of the State; it also has its eye on power, which is a leading object of national ambition and will remain so as long as international relations are determined by force.

This is set out in the first chapter. There follow some intermediate ones, of which we can only say that they analyse in a novel manner the economic elements in the development of "new" countries and the nature of nationalism, the effects of transport facilities, markets and tariffs, and the importance of wealth, its mobility and prestige, which is a reputation for strength and predominantly for economic power. Attention is particularly drawn to tropical Africa as the only region offering in modern times large tracts of politically vacant land, and to the competition that arose when Bismarck woke up, about 1880, to the advantages of colonial possessions, which had previously been regarded with doubtful feelings by England and France, their principal owners. Note is also taken of the decadence of sovereign powers in the case of Turkey and China, which offers a temptation to some more efficient neighbour to step in and assume control. This brings us down to a crucial chapter entitled "Economic Causes of War," in which the origin of the Great War is examined. It is shown to have been due to the system of the balance of power, in which the underlying motives were economic rather than political. Every war is a conflict of power, which de-

pends on resources. Mr. Hawtrey does not suggest that economic power is the only factor; but he insists on its predominance, and defends his view very skilfully against those which ascribe war to other motives, such as religion or ideas or culture. He may be right for the present material age, but he appears to speak of war in the abstract, and in that case he is likely to find readers who disagree with him. Perhaps it would be well to distinguish between the causes and the occasions of war. If any single cause may be named for war of every kind, it would be man's invincible

pugnacity, which is shared by none of the other animals; but the occasions which rouse it are innumerable, and men will certainly fight to the death for mere opinions or for nothing at all but the pleasure of fighting. No doubt this would not apply to modern war, with its tremendous toll, but it should not be forgotten. Mr. Hawtrey guards himself carefully, by allowing a certain amount of weight to other motives besides the economic, against the charge of attempting to make human conduct susceptible of a single interpretation; but he seems to weigh the "imponderables" too lightly as against the calculable motives.

With regard to the future, he says truly that the abolition of war has become a practical issue such as it has never been before. The nations have had a bad shock, a much worse one than in any previous outbreak of war after the usual interval of peace. He ascribes the growing destructiveness of conflict to the industrial revolution; but it goes far beyond that in the ordinary acceptance of the expression. The industrial revolution is supposed to mean the substitution of mechanical power for hand work; but the destructiveness of war, as learnt by recent experience and still more in the future, is mainly the result of chemical science. However this may be, there is no doubt about the fact of increasing destructiveness, which now threatens the whole population. Mr. Hawtrey thinks the prospect is all the worse because the tendency of science is to strengthen the attack, with which the defence has not yet caught up. It must always be so in the ding-dong struggle between attack and defence. The attack anticipates the defence, which cannot be prepared against an unknown evil. The question is, How can it be avoided?

He discusses this problem very clearly and on the whole hopefully, though not dogmatically. He propounds two solutions—the limitation of armaments and the settlement of international differences. The first, important though it is, does not profess to be a complete solution; but the great thing about it is that it indicates a change in the language of the sovereign States to one another. The shock of the War

has not gone for nothing on the present generation. That is the value of the Naval Conference, which shows how difficult the task is, and yet is a beginning. More important is the settlement of international disputes. The great need is for a supernational tribunal to end the state of international anarchy which will persist as long as the nations are sovereign, that is, are the sole judges of their own conduct. At present there is international agreement about many things, but not about politically controversial issues; these must be included and be made subject to an impartial judicial determination. He has no illusions about the difficulties, but he seems to attach too little importance to the mutual fears of each other between the Great Powers.

ENGLISH CHRISTIANITY

"Man has his individuality only in his relationships" -
D.H. Lawrence
Relate this to duty of non-violence in all relationships

May 15. With the Malabar group
out of the All India Parties Confer-
ence, the Mohammedans cannot
get definite enough assurances
re Hindu-Muslim disputes to provide
a new basis upon which to rest
subsequent arrangements with the
British at the Round Table
Conference. Cf. Yalun's statement
re Malaviya & Malabar.

The Paris and the Non-British
crowd of S. India evidently are pretty
sour at Govt. for its repression.
They will get sorer as the ~~saps~~
ladies get imprisoned too, the
military rules at Solapur are so
brutal as to anger people further.
The Viceroy's policy of hand picking
is too blatantly unrepresentative to
get by. If the ^{few} Moderates ^{should} go to

a R.T. Conference and sign an arrangement, they could not carry it out because the opposition when they got back, ^{home} would be too much. They would be so shaky & so timid that they would let England put over anything & yield almost nothing. Then the racket would start all over when they got back. But this time the opposition to council entry will not be all from Gandhi. I expect the military will enrage the Moderates between now & Oct. . .

Since the Muhammedans & Hindus cannot get united together because of the half hearted (14 out of 34) situation in the All-Parties Conference, ~~all~~ the Indian ~~a~~ delegation to the Round Table Conference, if there is one, will be so weak that Britain will yield nothing but words.

and pretended reorganization. So
when they are finished, the Indians
will go home to find everyone
rose at them for having won
nothing. Thus will the Gandhi
truth be driven home still fur-
ther. Any arrangement might be
made will break down within
two years.

May 16. The attitude in the British
press may be only by way of bluff.
The Chis. Tribune story today that
Reading had refused to cooperate with
Saxton shows that lots is going on
behind the scenes. The failure
of the All Parties Conference & its
adjournment till end of June shows
weakness of Indian Moderates. The
Nath Sibal statement is a clear

indications that they will have to desert Gout if the repression continues. Also it is following Gandhi in asking of the Viceroy what Gandhi asked last ~~Jan~~ Dec. The logic of the situation proves that Gandhi has been right all along.

Perhaps the biggest battle of your Satyagraha will be after ~~of~~ the British are driven out of India, in settling the communal disputes.

Shrotham may prove to be a big factor in driving many Liberals away from Gout by reason of the insults offered by stupid soldiers. E.g. forbidding wearing of khadi & Gandhi caps, 5 yrs imprisonment for telling a rumour.

The story in the Times (about May 8) that insufficient salt was being ordered by merchants in interior of India may result, by raising price of salt to peasants, in enraging them ^{as} govt & against merchants too, or may compel a time peasant drive ^{the} salt works. May be a shrewd move by the merchants to try to get free salt out of govt later.

What English call "desertion" of Engl by Indians, ^{or coercion by Congress,} I call being persuaded by force of Satyagraha; when U.S. has to give up its colonies it will not lose as much by that process as Engl or France. The trade of the world will be on a much more firm &

fair basis after that. Germany
will forge ahead of England.

The real effect of machinery
on Ag is showing most ~~conclusive~~
conclusively in Engl, even to
Englishmen, tho they don't
re know to word it & can
talk only of Govt action.

The only action in Engl or
U.S is for farmers themselves
to sell only to ~~the~~ nearer mar-
kets, cut down on gains, &
~~to make liberali.~~

May 16. Now that the Mohammedans
see that the Liberals are all
getting so weakly & deserting
govt, the Muslims will also
~~suddenly~~ swing to Bagep in about
2 weeks, for they will realize

that England is now help-
less without the any Indian
support & they will see that
they can gain more & better
terms by playing with
Indians than with British.
Ginn will not allow.
A few others will for awhile
try with idea of playing a
rough sides. But it won't
go down.

Barley write an article
explaining how & why of
Gandhi's tactics, ~~and~~ the
much, significance of salt
tax, his clever politics, etc.

May 17

Each meeting of any of these
Indian conferences of: Students, Workers

or Muslims from now on will only
 come to make them realize more
 strongly their own weakness and
 the strength of Bapu's position.

British will go stupidly on with
 their unmodified policy. Perhaps
 they'll find they have to use the
 Simon Report as an excuse for
 their change; i.e. repudiate Simon.
 What a bitter pill it will be.

The Conservatives will do their
 best to upset Salomon on any issue
 and then try to inaugurate a
 Black & Tan policy of fighting Indians
 in India.

The British may try some
 Black & Tan tactics in India with
 the Gurkhas & Pathan regiments
 & then point to the situation & tell
 the world, "See, we told you we

were protecting the Indians on
the ranges on her borders. Can
that be the meaning of Sir Wm
Bridwood's (the C-in-C) very
-recent (early May) visit to Nepal?
Or was it merely to enlist some
more Gurkha regiments?

May 17. The news from Bombay in
this morning's Daily Mail that the
Liberals say that the Viceroy will
shortly open negotiations with Russia
may not be true so soon, but it
will be true within a week. It
is the greatest piece of news that
the world has known for 1900
years.

What Gaudin will say reminds
me of Alice in Wonderland "I
told you once, I told you twice,

You would not listen to advice."
 Britain may say in 2d vol of
 Simon Report that she intends to
 give Dominion Status in say 1 yr,
 & then try to throw blame on
 Gandhi for fighting for it.

May 18. Now the policy of divide and
 rule is proving a boomerang to
 England. Now she discovers that
 she needs an agreement between
 Hindus & Mohammedans in order
 to get a Round Table conference
 & ~~a government~~ cooperation. Truth
 (Sat) ^(Unity) is now showing how much
 stronger it is than Asat, division.
 Evil comes home to roost.

Unemployment in England will
 mount to tremendous figures this
 winter. The, Labour party will get

throw out perhaps before they
can sign an agreement with India.
Tremendous internal political tension.
Communism will rise for awhile
& then fall.

Alan today told me how
the university fellowships in England
are organized & run, — all on
basis of expectation & stimulus.

Also about how greatly one's
observation — what one will see, —
is colored & controlled by one's
previous knowledge & assumptions.
cf. the artist & his little boy one
~~many~~^{day} seeing a white cow on
red road. Boy called it purple
cow. Father called it white but
later realized that the boy was
right as the high light from

blue sky & reflection of red from road combined on white cow to make purple. The boy, without preparation, saw correctly. Alan tried to say trying to draw exactly what he saw in a restaurant, paying no attention so far as possible to his assumptions about 3 dimensions, what the things were, etc., & got the best picture he ever drew.

So the "intelligencia" probably make their worst error by not observing correctly, - mistaking ^{actually} what they see with what they believe or assume.

He said that the fact that ~~the fact that~~ a doubt had been raised - to the universal validity of the "law" of sensation was very important. He thinks

we are very apt to assume causation in ^{situations} ~~places~~ where we very gently desire control or mastery, - especially regarding birth, death, & the like. Perhaps a probability of only 60% is enough in some situations is enough for us to assert that there is a law of causation.

Re education of children, get them as early as possible to work out a scale of values & to revise them constantly or periodically. Teach them to subject themselves to influences of the sort they value most.

In all my articles or talks try not to criticize Englishmen as

such an English character, but and
when entering any ^{system} govt do it as
Western or white race system -
ideas, & call them mistakes rather
than intentional evils,

May 12. The years 1930-31 will be
the most amazing politically for
the last 2000 years. The slaughter
~~will not~~ in India will probably
break the Viceroy & MacDonald
to pieces emotionally. If the
Viceroy resigns, the military may
go mad and slaughter indiscrimi-
nately. All decent people in
England are going to become so
ashamed of imperialism and of their
army and of their hold over
India that they will bury their-
selves. A tremendous moral revolution.

British prestige in all the world
will sink tremendously. Probably
S. Africa will break away, - also
Australia. ~~and~~ As a moral
figure Gandhi will tower over
the world.

I feel I must collect his writings
on Satyagraha. Perhaps a sub-
section of them on Ahimsa
relating to animals.

POPULATION OF THE WORLD.

2,000,000,000 MARK PASSED

Figures compiled by the International Statistical Institute at The Hague indicate that the total population of the earth has now passed the 2,000,000,000 mark.

Asia, according to these statistics, has the largest population of the five continents—950,000,000. Europe has 550,000,000 people, North and South America 230,000,000, Africa 150,000,000, and Australia 7,000,000. The island regions of the world bring the aggregate above 2,000,000,000.

Figures issued in May, 1927, on the basis of data prepared by the League of Nations, gave a total world population at that date of 1,906,000,000.

Alan says that by going from one country to another he has seen that the practices & assumptions of one nation are entirely different from those of another, and yet they carry on quite happily and make things work. So that makes him disregard superficial things and get down to essential and such first principles. He recognizes that my change to India gave that to me too, just as his years in Brazil did it for him.

He did remember importance of exercise, wheat, milk, fruits, vegetables, sunbathing, right clothing, baths, exercise, posture, fresh air, sleeping outdoors.

NVR is not subject to
being hidden by obfuscations &
whittling down of public feeling & diff.
elaborate delays of an
Committee of Investigation or a
Royal Commission. It is more
direct

May 20. The British Govt make a
big mistake in delaying so long
because by Oct 20 there will be

Probably the British Govt
are delaying making an offer until
they see whether, to what extent
& how firmly the Indian peasants
will ^{refuse to pay} ~~accept~~ land taxes. Govt is
perhaps going to import more
British troops to do Black & Tan
work on the peasants. ^{The situation} That will
be shown up & proved between
now and Oct 20th. I don't

know the due date of tax payments,
but by analogy with Bardoli,
I suppose it is after the spring
harvests & during the summer.

Meanwhile the Indian Liberals &
Moderate will be getting more &
more discouraged & falling in their
support of Govt, & more & more
afraid of being accused of treachery to
India if they go to any Round
Table conference, and more &
more resentful & heart broken by
British fightfulness.

Latest developments at Wadala
salt pans ~~show~~ indicate that Govt
is restoring the unwisdom of
brutality. The time between now
& Oct is giving ~~many~~ all Indian
ample time to practise L.V.R. &
gain confidence & discipline in it.

Meanwhile Be. moves in India &
England is crumbling. Even the
Times of India is showing it.

How about an article on 2 ways
of interpreting events past & present.
Treachery - loyalty, timbering - robbery,
weakness - enlightenment, ^{dastardly} ~~regulator~~ ^{outrage}

The way for a farmer to make
good is largely to improve the
efficiency of his distribution, - i.e.
cut down its cost. Sell as much as
possible at home; persuade the customer
of the value of fresh food; ^{raise} ~~decrease~~
things that don't stand long trans-
portation & so on which there will
not be outside competition. Use
idle time for production of clothing &
other home needs.

CANCELLING OUT

CANCER.

Manchester Guardian Weekly
German Biologist's View of
Heredity. *May 16.*

1930
(From our Berlin Correspondent.)

The biologist and mathematician Dr. Felix Bernstein submitted the result of his researches into the hereditary nature of cancer to the Berlin Medical Society last week. These results have aroused a good deal of interest in the German medical world. Briefly they amount to this. For many years American cancer research workers have tried to determine the hereditary or non-hereditary character of the disease by following its occurrence or recurrence in generation after generation of mice. Such experiments are, of course, common enough in Europe, only in America they have been conducted on a huge scale.

Dr. Bernstein's special work has been the statistical study of heredity, and, with the help of the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft (a German Government-aided association), he was able to visit America and make a study of the vast statistical material which had accumulated there without leading to any satisfactory generalisation. His thesis, which he gave in detail last week, is that cancer is not only hereditary but even the time at which it appears is hereditary—that is to say, an hereditary factor determines whether a malignant tumour appears early or late in the life of the individual. Dr. Bernstein rejects the often-stated theory that cancer increases in so-called "cancer families" in the course of generations.

Hereditary cancer, he declared, follows a simple rule within the framework of the Mendelian law. The hereditary disposition or tendency to cancer involves a so-called "recessive" factor which does not always become active in the individual who has inherited the disposition and who passes this disposition on to his offspring. The recessive cancerous factor can be cancelled by a non-cancerous factor. Every individual receives from his two parents two factors that make up every hereditary characteristic. If one of the parents is free from the cancerous factor—that is to say, in possession of the non-

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cancerous factor,—the cancerous factor is cancelled and he has no disposition towards the disease.

But if both parents have the cancerous factor, so that two recessive factors coincide, then the cancerous disposition is inherited.

To prove or disprove
Ellis Barker's diet theory
of cancer, take mice, put
them on the anti-cancerous
diet and then try the
different modes of irritation
of their epidermis which
in part have been used
to produce mouse cancer.

But how about social
heredity of food vices,
food choices, & customs.

May 20. R. Davis's article in East
Spectator talks about Indian
arguments as mere rationalisa-
tions of Indian desire for Indepen-
dence. ²¹ ²⁰ The British arguments
may equally ^{be said to be mere} rationalisations of
British desire for profits & political
prestige.

May 21. D. G. Unluhiji told us
today that July 1 is tax payment
date in Gujarat and ^{also} May 1 is
Chowhee tax payment in Bengal.
Also that the agent in Multan
was on a refusal to pay this
latter. So the refusals will soon
be acting.

He also told of how the servants
were prepared to desert all European
service as soon as it was clear that

Bayer will win. Asked why not
before, ~~the~~ ^{the} said that their minds
were so made; if they had been
different they would not be
servants.

Also ~~his~~ ^{his} talk of overhauling
Calcutta police discussing when
they would desert to Gandhi, &
that the new govt would also
need police & ∴ it would mean
only a temporary loss of occupa-
tion ~~also a B. one~~

He said the barracks were all
for Swami & Bayer.

In my opinion, govt is issuing
the new £7,000,000 loan to carry
on with while the tax is being
refused & attempts made to collect
it. Govt hopes that the Indians
of all sections will weaken after

the Simon Commission Report is
out. ~~They~~ ^{Gout} will probably
combine it with skilful
threatening. I think that will
fail for Malaviya is active in
riding with & is Patel.
If that fails, then ~~they~~ ^{Gout} will
try more terrorism, unless the
Sholapur & Peshawar cases
get round too far by then.
There will be a serious struggle
between the democracy &
militants in India & the
Br. Govt & people at home.
No party in Engl commands
enough ^{no mind in Parliament} support, because probably
Labour ^{Party} will be very weak as
a result of steadily increasing
unemployment. So the Br.
Govt at home & in India may

do a good deal of slaughter before they get ousted.

Probably though, ^{before} ~~at~~ that time the ^{Indian} finances will get low & the police and Indian soldiers begin seriously to mutiny. Also at any minute the servants may desert. ~~When that begins~~ Even some of the Br. officers will probably weaken, as perhaps was the cause of the nervous break down of the governor of the NW provinces just recently. If that story of Munkji's is true, then when that governor gets to England his report to Cabinet & other superiors will weaken them a good deal.

A/c to Munkji the Br. ~~force~~ at Peshawar some 3 armed

tanks right over the bodies
of men ~~lying~~^{sitting} on the road
doing satyagraha & that the
only retaliatory violence was
by a Pathan who soaked
his pyjamas in petrol or oil
& put them under one tank &
set fire to it, thus routing
the ~~Br. officer~~^{soldiers} within alive.

Evidently the Br. civil commu-
nity in India now realize that
~~the~~ violence is a boomerang &
that Govt has got to make
enormous concessions to Congress
party. The business men are
willing to do ^{this} in order to
hold onto their profits.

So I think that by autumn
it will dawn on all the world
that India is lost to Br. &

the problem then will be only to see if anything can be saved out of the wreck. The rest of Europe will begin to land on England pretty heavily.

Egypt & Iraq will make all sorts of demands and get them. French & Dutch will be torn between their joy at seeing England weakened and their fear of losing their own colonies. There will be a vast increase in courtesy toward all coloured races all over the world.

The salt satyagraha gives people a fine training & discipline in NVK.

What the Br. papers call the
"credulity" of the Indian peasants in
relation to Gandhi is matched
by the credulity of the Br. public
in relation to post-Britannia, the
increasing prosperity of India, etc.

May 23. Re India - cutting down
palm trees by Volunteers as violence.
How far is ~~such an idea~~ ^{the result}
all one idea of property a form of
violence (separation & division).
Is the use of property for liquor
not violence. We do not know
the local situation, the ^{see V D Apr May} laws, etc. 430

Is this form of destruction allied
to ¹ ~~with~~ foreign cloth bonfires?
Cf. pamphlet on that topic. Don't
Charlie full of British industrial
ideology?

Would it be violence to ban opium?
 It is capable of being usefully used in
 hospitals. But used as dope it is wrong.
 Well, foreign cloth in India is a form
 of poison. ~~If~~ The mere fact, that
 labor has been expended on it by poor
 people - no reason for not destroying
 it, for that is true also of opium.

There is

When a situation of anger or
~~tempting~~ to anger develops, seize it
 as a chance for creative N.V.R., kind-
 ness & good will, & satyagraha.

In India there is developing a
 struggle of interests between the British
~~cremonay~~ & military on one hand and
 the Br. business community on the
 other. Cf. recent Times of India.

The business men realize that Indian opinion is so rapidly hardening as Britain on of it of the repression that ~~the~~ all Br. trade will be lost. The bureaucracy & soldiers ~~want~~ will lose their jobs if India goes, & there will be no jobs for them at home. But when the police, soldiers & servant revolt, then they too will clean out.

The initiative is with Indians. Progressive unification of Indian opinion & disintegration of British, despite the Br ^{instances} ~~talk~~ of Indian divisions.

As Munkje said, peasants who have stood famine, drought,

flood, & plague can undergo a
~~no~~ refusal to pay taxes very easily,
especially as it has some hope in
it.

May 23. The reason why wrong so often
seems to prevail is because a
wrong means is taken to end
it. E.g. some labor strikes fail.
This is usually so, because if
the good purpose always included
~~even~~ ~~matter~~ if the method used
were mistaken, then it would
prove that the end justifies the
means. It is only when the
right means is used that the
truth and right purpose prevails
and wins. That is the reason
why Bismarck is sure to win.
yet remember that apparent

For the same reason, if you move me any thing
method, and point, you can win anything
because that is creative.

failure is often real success

To say that men are slaves of machines means that they are slaves to their ideas, because machines are really concrete manifestations of thoughts. Men serve abstract ideas such as political or religious freedom, nationalism, etc. Then why not their material embodiment. The ideas ~~type~~ of which machines are the crystallization are "externalistic" ideas, directed toward outward power. The slavery is partly due to the direction of these ideas for men do not talk of their "slavery" to an inner ideal such as freedom or truth. That serves service, not slavery.

But the ideas of machinery are outside the self and the result of a concept of the separation of matter from self. So to run such ~~a~~ set of ideas truly becomes slavery.

But from a long-time point of view such slavery is only temporary because the wrong direction or wrong emphasis of such thought is only temporary; - a result of the uneven development of mankind.

There are two ways to correct it:

(1) Carry it to its logical conclusion and extreme with all thoroughness as the engineers and scientists are doing, thus hastening the reaction & return swing of the pendulum.

(2) Try to develop the corrective inner thought and the culture of the

complete inner as well as outer
self, a right human relationship,
thus acting as a drag on the
other tendency, anticipating
the reverse swing and preparing
the way for it. Cf. H.V.R.

Just as ~~censorship~~² censorship
of the press indicates a fear by
govt, so a censorship of
ex matters from ~~the~~ children
indicates a fear by adults. As
soon as a child is old enough to
see a possible evil meaning in
a book, ^{it proves it by reading,} it is old enough to have
the matter fully explained to
it. Even if I haven't enough
knowledge & intelligence to tell
the child what is right by my
language, I will tell him

what is right by my conduct, i.e.
show him love, & tend to that
to guide him right.

Noted how Winkler criticised
Tagore for not refusing to deliver
Hilbert Lecture after Sholapur &
Peshawar. Also Andrews for trading
on his friendship with Tagore &
Gandhi and for putting in too much
Andrews into the Gandhi book auto-
biography. Whether or not Tagore was
right depends on his motive. It seems
to me like bowing down to the man
who smiles you & calling him brother.
An assertion of unity.

Supplementary
Lists for my book on NVR.
(see previous note book also)

U. S. A.

1. List of liberal ministers from Holmes
2. List of Pacificists from Roger Baldwin
3. Russell Bowie, New Ogilby, 14th SO gilly, Brooklyn
- clergyman; padre in Concord.
4. Head of Minonites & a list from them O Tead.
5. Whis who Head of Dunkers, both branches.
6. Selected college presidents & school "handmasters". Assoc. of Colleges
Profs, Profs of psychology in numerous universities,
Some prison reform people. Warden James, ^{convict} ^{society} ^{main}
7. Ellen Glasgow, Katherine Gerald Fullerton, Miss Park,
Pres of Smith College
8. Silvanus of N.Y. City, Boston, Phila, Chi,
S. F., Seattle, St. L., U of Calif, Mich, Chi,
Wis, Mo, Iowa, Wash, Ore, La,
S. Carolina, Duke, Princeton, Harvard,
Yale, Ills, Tech, Dartmouth,
9. I.L.P. of Niagara Falls & New Bedford
9. Major Nelson of Tenberge & presidents of Fids, Geo. Wash
other negs universities

10. John P. Fay, Miss ^{Youngers} very.
- KB Wolf, ^{Charles} ^{university}, at ^{Winter Park}
11. Hamilton Hall, Pres of Rollins College, ^{Fla}
12. Judge Advocate General's office U.S.A.
13. Headquarters of the American Legion.
14. U.S. War Dept office in charge of plans for next war.
15. Ben O'Jelly, Glenn Frank, Jim Maurer, Victor
Olander, Norman Thomas, Harry Sandler, Edgar B.
Stearns, ^{Sidney Hillman}, ^{United Mine Workers}
~~of B.S. Wallace~~
16. Fellowship of Reconciliation, War Resisters League,
^{War Resisters} ^{Internatl}
Women's Peace Society, Women's Peace Union,
Women's Internatl League, War Resisters Inter-
natl (British), Society of Friends (U.S. & Bri)
Committee on Militarism in Education,
17. Modcai W. Johnson, Pres. of Howard Univ. (N.Y.C.)
Prof ~~Macintocks~~ of Yale
18. Hampton Institute students
19. J. H. Sayre
20. Warren S. Thompson, re pop. problem.

England & Europe

1. ^{Sir} Gen. Baden Powell
2. Unamano
3. Ernst Toller
4. Prison reform people in Engl. & Germany
5. Head of German youth movement
6. Mr. Makinski (Alem's spy)
7. Aglauer Maude
8. JBS. Haldane
9. A. J. Penty
10. Amir of Afghanistan
11. King of Nepal

Re education of children, teach
them (rudiments of) nursing. It
is a strongly unifying action.

Re story in May 1930 Atlantic re
girl who made a go of an old orchard
& the good feeling between her & the
labourers while they were all poor &
how it disappeared later when she
got more money. She made her money
she says by exploiting their labour.
Also perhaps by her ownership of
the land and trees. Some money
should be reserved for repairs,
maintenance, obsolescence, insur-
ance, interest (?) and taxes on
property. But ~~the~~ not this
is largely a community thing
really, & it ought not the
money from it, as dis-

tingrained from owners wage for
labor, to go to the community,

Make clear in article for Nation
that Communism is almost nil in
India. of calling Senator Dolgo Bolshevik

Ramsey MacDonald insisting
that all resistance in India
must stop before any negotiations
will begin is as like a
suspicious employer after a
strike as to make a Communist
nicker.

There may be a sudden
hardening of Br. opinion as
they come to realize what the
loss of India will mean.
If it comes, it will be

become those whom the gods wish
destroy they first make mad.

The Muhammedans & Hindus
will not come to any agreement
until Bapu is out of jail & present
at their conference. Perhaps this
is partly what ^{Mahomed} Shariat Ali had
in mind when he begged the Viceroy
not to imprison Bapu.

The situation is the greatest moral
opportunity Britain has ever faced. If
she can give up her ~~instant~~ immediate
money profits and ~~give~~ ~~allow~~ stop altogether
stop interfering with India's full
polit & ec independence, then she will
be won the moral respect of the world
& retain some of her trade with India.
But if she refuses she will lose every-
thing.

Re my N & R book insert
somewhere the idea that you
can start anything if you
yourself pay the price &
don't load it onto others...
You ~~never~~ can pay all the price
yourself for a mistake, but you
can try to shoulder most, That is
enough.

The fear of being seen in certain places
is due to a false sense of superiority in
part, & in part to the pressure of
group morality which punishes for
certain offences.

The ~~down~~ digestive tract is the
most important place ^{or means} of contact between
the organism & its environment. Not
only is the total line surface of contact

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very large (compare it with that of the outside skin), but this contact, unlike that of the eye, ear, nose?, or touch, results in absorption of the outside into the organism. In this respect it is more absorptive than the outside skin, & resembles the lungs. Thus the digestive tract is the chief organ of unification between man and his environment. Also, it is perhaps the most dangerous contact for that very reason. The sense of smell acts largely as a guard for the lungs, tho it breaks down when modern games are encountered. So also the sense of taste has broken down ^{in part} as a selective guide for the stomach. The very fact that we have a nose & sense of taste shows that this contact must be selective in order for the organism to exist. The eye & ear also helps us to select

places & ~~good~~ paths & modes of action that
are selective & avoid certain dangers.
If we must be selective in our foods, &
our foods are constantly becoming more
in number & more complex, why not
~~also~~ work it out as carefully as possible.
The principle of selection has to be more
precise as the organism becomes more
complex & the environment more danger-
ous & complex. There is the balance of
forces more carefully preserved.

Men like L. J. Dublin (Sci/Amper
May 1930) point out that the expectancy
of life has been increased mostly by
decreasing infant mortality & cutting
down infectious diseases, but that
above 40 the expectancy has slightly
decreased owing to the increase of
cancer, diabetes, heart disease &

similar degenerative diseases. He thinks that no improvement is possible. But here is just where improved diet would count most, for the cumulative effect of bad diet counts most there. Cf. old Rochefellas.

I note the fact that so many farmers have indigestion, ^{constipation, colds, pneumonia,} rheumatism, ^{and} other diseases a good indication that fresh air, sunshine, and exercise are not sufficient for health.

May 28. The situation in India is like when Pharaoh refused to let the children of Israel go. If the British are now suffering a plague of unemployment, but if they harden their hearts again, the next plague will make the grasshoppers look like child play. Such a

hardening would mean that
those whom the gods wish to
destroy they first make mad.

Britain is morally on the
defensive because she had to
clap on a censorship. That's
a mere sign of fear.

W. Norton & Co. Inc. NYC.

THE BIOLOGICAL BASIS OF HUMAN NATURE

By H. S. JENNINGS

Professor of Zoology, Johns Hopkins University

Selected by The Scientific Book Club be-
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new knowledge concerning heredity and
environment." The facts of life, not the
theories of psychologists, control human
behavior. This book explains how.

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If you really believe that God is
in every person, ~~God~~ and act
accordingly, you can associate
with anyone, no matter whether
they are the lowest sinners, the
wealthiest, the meanest or
anyone, without being harmed.

One way for rulers to rule is to
disguise the ugly brutal facts of
govt behind such bogeys as German
aggression, the Pathans & Affghans, ^{Proletarians, Criminals, Subalterns} etc.
With them ~~they~~ in the background they
can maintain armies & do dirty work,
and the Liberals & Moderates are able to
turn their attention to the bogeys
and still their consciences. But
Bapin's way drags the ugliness out
& ~~exposes~~ it into the Liberals till
eventually they have to desert, because

they get too uncomfortable.
Characteristics of Liberals are
timidity, love of comfort,
truthfulness, ostrich-minds,
~~yet~~ kindness & conscience.

May 30. If credit (money) is the
weak spot in the ec. system, then
small scale production and distribu-
tion is essential to it, for the
majority of mankind, because real
trust (credit) can occur only
with people with whom you are
actually familiar in all their
lives & activities, whom you
know and who know you
thoroughly.

Violence is vulgar, as Bismarck
truly says.

The art of govt (cf article by
 Lord Peel in London Times apropos of
 India) is ~~it~~ up to the present, very
 largely the art of producing and
 manipulating fear, anger, pride
 (ambition) and divisions. But
 N.V.R. puts an end ^{to} or controls all
 all these. ∴ it will upset all
 governments

Buddha taught & practiced
^{individually} N.V.R. but did not ~~of~~ suffer from
 its use. Christ taught & practiced
^{individually} it, & suffered from its use. Gandhi
 taught & practiced it & suffered,
 but taught & drilled other people
 to use it as an organized ^{& disciplined} mass
 affair. Therefore he has
 advanced on both of them.

In developing a careful
hygiene there should be steps
taken to avoid all parasites,
lice, bed bugs, fleas, (flies), mosquitos,
tape worms, trichinae, malaria, etc.

Also for care of skin (rubbing &
baths & sun baths)

The Indian Revolution will
alter the balance of Europe very
considerably. Both France &
Germany will be stronger than
yet Britain. Perhaps Germany &
Italy will make a coalition &
overshadow France. Germany will
outstrip England in many ways.
With British power decreased, the
League of Nations may become less
effective or may be a factor in
creating a United States of Europe.

England will be torn between a stronger coalition with U.S. and a place in the U.S. of Europe. Canada will become filled with Britons fleeing from England. Canada will become the strongest member of the Br. Empire. S. Africa will tend to break away.

Prepare Kindred's book on Bacteria during summer so as to spring it in early autumn, also mine on E. of K. With Charlie on this.

Look up article on Protozoology in ~~new~~ Engel Brit. It may cast light on dirt theory, as some protozoa live in digestion canal. See also paper on Bacteria. + Ferments, Enzymes, Colloids.

Getting my two Nation articles
printed just before the Simon
Commission report comes out
may help prevent England from
fooling America with an
apparently "generous" gesture toward
India.

June 4. Perhaps the reason for
cyclical hard times is because
of the fact that after a season of
prosperity people's desires get so
stimulated that they outstrip
the amount of credit (trust) which
exists. Our ec. system is so
founded on greed & the principle
of give as little & get as much as
you can that the amt of credit
is apt not to increase very rapidly
and in times of prosperity certain

groups begin to make so much that
money & interest is created which
saves the credit structure. (One of
the desires stimulated is that for
higher wages, naturally.)

Put this idea out. Also relate
it to our scale of organization &
its resulting ignorances & credit
limits.

Re India: Modern leaders are
using head psychology in steadily
saying Don't, don't (join civil
disobedience) to their followers.
Negative suggestion. Hard to do
nothing while Satyagrahis
are doing something positive.

Result of riots in Bombay is
a new Modern wing to Gandhi.
His leaders may get decanted by

their crowd. Perhaps their steady
hanging on to it reflects either
their fear lest the masses will
join Bapu, or their consciousness
that many already have done so.

Youth movement are all in for
Bapu. Youth, women, tribes, more
Muslims, business men, more Liberals,
more lawyers, poor mode of police,
soldiers & servants, unifying force
of Satyagraha, boycott, salt tax,
land tax, chowki tax movements.
England will temporarily out of alarm
support govt, but forces in Engl
are dividing. Unhappy moments.

Bruce's admission that most Indians
want equal status is good. His
further saying that public opinion
in India will settle is sound, too,
& puts it to test of time.

By playing up N.W. raids on tribes
the Br. public is being prepared for
imposition of martial law. That
will harden India solidly. Time will
prove whether non-violence is stronger
than Indian violent forces. I think
it is. If martial law comes in 3
weeks ^{from now} it will about coincide with
2d vol of Simon Report & will effectively
kill it. But it relates to ~~not~~ no-
tax campaigns. ~~But~~ But it cannot
stop that.

The great speed of this campaign
compared with 1911-2 shows how
much more ripe Indian opinion is
now. The silence of Bapu's day
of silence all over India in campaign
is a striking evidence of the hold
his influence has over them all.
An important impendable.

June 6. The way that Peshawar situation is now being played up in papers looks as if Br. public were being prepared for the imposition of martial law in India, Rumor of it coming in 3 weeks is suggested in Stocomb's dispatch on his return from Simla.

Probably ~~the~~ authorities are doing it because the die-hards are getting control over Vicary & Bann, because the refusal of land revenue looms very strongly, and because with the resistance to chowki tax a lot of policemen in villages are likely to quit. But if the soldiers are to be spread over the villages they will have to be in small detachments, & therefore their morale

will perhaps tend to suffer. More contact with people & less with English officers & fewer rigors of barracks life. And if N.W.F. racket goes strong a considerable number may be stuck there & kept away from other villages.

Shanbat Ali's interview with Daily Mail today looks as if denunciation of Mordens names was worrying him. It is admitted now in papers that many Mordens are pro Gandhi.

Viceroy finds it desirable to get Mordens on back for their support. Flattery is a sign of fear.

Thuratt's article shows how Br. Selva party morale is being affected.

June 7. It is a real mass
movement because new leaders
keep springing up as fast as
~~others~~ ^{all} ones are arrested. E.g.,
Boudry today & all along.

Roger Baldwin said that
my argument is to try this
new N.V.R. way because
violence has failed. It is a
hope, he said, but I said
it is scientific process of
trial & error. He admitted
that but said it was not the
only way, for long-time
education & propaganda did
much before French &
Russian Revolutions. But
they are really only a part
of N.V.R.

Roger says in my argument
 don't Communists that I over-
 stress their violence & don't give
 enough credit to long period
 of preceding propaganda & education.
 He admits that philosophically
 they are all for violence &
 brandish it verbally a lot, but
 that in behaviour they give
 much more energy to propaganda
 & organization & education. Trotsky
 said that ~~all the~~ more of their
 permanent results were obtained
 by violence. Also Lenin said
 the peasants had defeated
 them by force & Stalin
 admits that violent revolution
 of peasants has failed.

Roger Baldwin says he used to agree with Justice Brandeis about the superiority of small scale units for production, but that the economies of the large corporations have changed his mind. I feel that Roger is thinking too much about the mere volume of production & too little about the financial & human & long time inefficiencies of the large organizations. Cf. the matter of sheer size of organization that gives the real power to the bureaucracy & prevents the top men (e.g. Ramsey MacDonald) from doing any deep reforms, also the evils from large scale finance & the false credit or inflation credit controls.

ignorance that develop. Also in agriculture the inability to plant ^{animal} disease & insects that grow up in large scale agriculture. Soil gets poisoned. It is like ~~big~~ overpopulation & overcrowding of large cities. It involves much waste, e.g. of city sewage & of decays of the soil that Stroud class has outlined.

A political ~~fight~~ struggle won by violent means is sure to ^{create} be a form of slavery to one group, usually the strongest economically as it can get most weapons & means of money credit & propaganda instruments. Hence Burma does not want the sort of Independence

which might be won by violence.
Herein he is wiser than the
Communists and more truly
for all the people. Bring this
out in book. See G.I. for
Apr. 24 or May 1, 1930. Clarify
this point in relation to his
preference for so violent courage
over a non-violent cowardice.

Refer to Thoreau in chap on
politics. Perhaps a note on
authorities for N.V.R. a Baynes
relation to them. ^{historically & in position} E.g. Buddha,
Jains, Saw-t'ien, Mohammed,
Christ, Fox, Thoreau, Tolstoy.

June 8 In Phil chap insert to
effect that if any of this
seems irrelevant it is because
the reader does not understand

the profundity of the change
^{involved in} ~~is~~ produced by N.V.R. And
if he would read Bage's
writings he would realise that
in this respect too I have only
tried to restate Bage's ideas.

For Cook by Volving Press,
Coward Nelson, Doubleday Doan,

Freedom of India will for some
years mean a decrease of world
markets

Effect of India on Empire Confer-
ence in the autumn? Don't let
English say that Gandhi refused a
conference.

N.V.R. will dispel suspicion of
Maulana for Hindus.

NVR

My book, was printed and mailed
from Madras on May 15.

When the Mohammedans join
Gandhi they will be exceedingly
energetic, in order to prove their
bona fides and that though last
they are not least.

June 13, ~~Bayne~~ The politicians but that
fear & anger are the strongest
forces, but Bayne but that
love, courage and kindness are
stronger. ∴ he is the greater
statesman.

The heavy sentence on the Indian
mutineers will act as a boomerang
eventually, - making the soldiers
vengeful.

That there was no violence yesterday

day shows that NVR is gaining
 shooting at Khairia means
 successful tax restraint. Liberals
 statement in today's N.Y. Times
 confirms my guess re Simon
 Report a dud.

Noire was much struck by
 the beautiful texture of
 Bapu's skin.

The fact that the Salomon Govt is
 a minority govt makes it very
 timid to move re India. That
 adds to the slow pace at which
 England will make any concessions to
 India. Also the old flunkeyism
 makes the Salomon Govt more sub-
 servient to the permanent secretar-
 iat than a crowd of Conservatives

would be. Both Tories & Liberals
are making Salom do their dirty
work. This will eventually ruin
Macdonald with Salom. If he
had the courage to resign now
he would be back in 8 months
with the country behind him.

See Bombay Chronicle of May 15
re status of Marline support. Ed page
Also of May 13. ^{May 10} Re India (Indian States)
See Bombay Chronicle May 13.

If I feel sure that God is in me
I can have no inferiority complex &
no false desire for dignity, or pride
In fact are not both an inferior
complex & a superiority complex
both better described as a failure
to realize that God is in me & in



THE DANCE OF ŚIVA.

Cosmic Dance of Nāṭarājā. Brahmanical bronze. South Indian. 12th Century,
Madras Museum.

all others too, is in all nature.²

Re my NVR book, the
trouble cases are all emotionally
colored and confused because of
our emotion & lack of clarity
re sex relations and the II concept
of women. Of the differences
between the Indian, Chinese, French
& ^{Spanish} American concepts of marriage.
Comaracuanini, B. Russell; B.
Shaw, Today & Tomorrow, Samoa
books, ^{judith S. Sidel} & Hallinowhi. Sex
psychology symposium. Also I
is confused by II concept of
parents toward children. Also we
need to analyze what we mean
by "responsible".

NVR shows a more complete

faith in unity & eternal life than violent carnage does, for it takes a bigger initial ink. But there is more to it than this.

Americans have caught Bayre's meaning better than British partly because of the lack of political prejudice and partly because we have less pride.

See 49. Perhaps Bayre does not want independence more than NVR because independence won by violence would not be real independence but only a new form of slavery, probably to the then ^{economically} changed class. He would ask to try NVR fully, & if it fails he would not help the

violence party. But he would
urge them not to be cowards.
but would never stop trying
to prove the superiority of N.V.R.
See recent G. I. & must
this in my book.

In these times we must
often choose between exterior
and interior beauty, between
aesthetic and moral beauty.
Not true ^{for} always, for inner
beauty in the mass will
create exterior beauty. Or
rather, the conflict is between
inner beauty and exterior
complexity & lack of simplicity.

My next article to prove
increasing
unity of India, to come out

just after the edict of Simon Report.
Simon report is based on assumption
of Indian divisions. Contradict
that.

If machines are the result of
ideas, the root of the idea is
division, division (analysis); and
not facing the implications of the
idea, man cannot adjust the
machine to man.

Might do an article
explaining the meaning & use of
the all-tax campaign as a
simple public drill in U.V.R.
& discipline
with intelligence & allegiances
Mohammedan leaders keep
saying Dont & Want. Bad
psychology. Will be decided
by rank & file.

When Englishmen doubt ability
of Indians for self govt the
what they really are doubting
is the ability of Indian upper
class to carry on the exploitation
for benefit of England.

Boycott, liquor prohibiting
& no-tax all have an effect on
govt. Moral effects to Indians
of cooperation, discipline,
purification, self control, active
thought, self sacrifice.

Do not underestimate the
obstinacy or the power of habit
Perhaps they & few will unify
England externally, but the
real forces in Engl are divine.

The no tax campaign will
help enormously because it will
be intelligence to the peasants

& thus create a united India.

Explain the reverse Cushman
Chauri Chaura & 1930

"I had an opening of joy as
to these parts, when I had at
Oxford" - Wm Penn (?)

Our Western & modern idea of
progress has probably grown out of
the Newtonian mechanical concept
of acceleration.

America owes it to Europe & the whole
world to let England come as all
too far in the eyes of Asia.

Address of Einstein before the World Peace Conference
June 16, 1930 Berlin

TEXT OF THE ADDRESS.

The text of Professor Einstein's address, on "Space, Field and Ether Problems in Physics," was as follows:

Conceptions and conceptional systems, logically regarded, never originate from sense experiences. But they are always caused, however indirectly, by sense experiences; they are related to sense

experiences and in this relationship lies their meaning and their significance.

If we wish to be clear on the meaning of the pre-scientific conception of space we must seek to visualize those characteristics of our world of experience which have given rise to the formation of a conception of space and of geometric conceptions in general. Regarded from this standpoint, the conception of a real world of externals and material bodies undoubtedly preceded the conception of space.

We need not further analyze what characteristics of our world of experience have led to these fundamental conceptions and in what the close linking up of these concepts with the world of experience consists.

Among the many things which are included in the term "material objects" one category plays a particular rôle. This we call "the relative position of solid bodies." Conceptions of space as well as the conceptions of the system of Euclidean geometry are based upon this idea. The most important conceptual element for the comprehension of the law of "the position" of motionless bodies is that of their contacts. On this are based the most important concepts of congruence and measurement.

Significance of Greek Geometry.

The great significance of the geometry of the Greeks lies in the fact that, so far as we know, it represents the first attempt to

comprehend a complex of sense experiences through a logical deductive system. Instead of starting from matter with its manifold forms, it is based on a few formal elements: point, line, plane and distance.

From these were constructed material forms and positional relations between bodies which were purely theoretical and were founded on certain established rules: the axioms. These fundamental elements are themselves idealizations of material objects.

The conception of a space continuum does not appear at all in Greek geometry, although it certainly forms a part of pre-scientific thought. It was first introduced into mathematics by Descartes, the founder of modern geometry. The Greeks were satisfied to study reciprocal relationships between their idealized material objects: points, lines, planes and distances.

Their conception of space was based on the idea that it was easier to study the relationships of all bodies as compared with one than as compared with one another. This one body, however, is the fiction of an infinitely extended body or one with which all the others can be brought into contact. It is clear that the existence of a quasi-rigid earth surface, or the existence of drawing paper in a study of plane figures, must have given rise by means of drawn representations to the formation of this conception.

The service which Descartes rendered to mathematics through the introduction of a space continuum cannot be too highly estimated. In the first place, it made possible the study of geometrical figures by means of analysis. Secondly, it strengthened geometry as a science in a decisive manner. Henceforth a straight line and a plane were no longer favored in principle over other lines and surfaces but all lines and surfaces received equal treatment.

One Axiom Replaces System.

A single axiom took the place of the complicated axiom system of

Euclidean geometry. This axiom, in the words of today, reads: There are systems of coordinates compared with which the interval as of neighboring points P and G may be expressed by coordinate differentials dx_1, dx_2, dx_3 in the formula:

$$ds^2 = dx_1^2 + dx_2^2 + dx_3^2.$$

From this, i. e., from Euclidean metric, all conceptions and propositions in Euclidean geometry can be deduced.

However, perhaps the most important thing is that, without the introduction of a continuum of space, in the Cartesian sense, a formulation of Newton's mechanics would have been impossible. The fundamental conception of acceleration used in this theory must be supported by the conception of the Cartesian coordinates of space, for acceleration in no wise may be deduced from concepts which only relate to relative positions of bodies, or material points and their time changes.

It may rightly be said that, according to Newton's theory, space plays a rôle of physical reality, as Newton well knew, although this fact was later overlooked.

The Cartesian coordinates of space had therefore to begin, from the point of view of physics, with two independent functions. It established through the Pythagorean theorem possible positions of practically rigid bodies, as well as the inertial movement of material points. It seemed absolute in the sense that it worked but that nothing could work upon it or modify it. It was the infinite, the eternally unchanging repository of all that is and happens.

The frame of the Newtonian theory is distinguished by concepts of space-time and ponderable matter. To this there came in the nineteenth century a new element—ether. As soon as the undulatory character of light had been established by Young and Fresnel it was considered necessary to accept an inert substance which permeates all bodies and completely fills an space—ether, the vibrations of which were supposed to be light.

Faraday-Maxwell Theory.

Newton's theoretical framework was completely destroyed by the Faraday-Maxwell field theory of electro-magnetic phenomena, for the realization gradually grew that electro-magnetic fields, which are

also to be found in empty space, could not be regarded in a satisfactory manner as mechanical conditions of the ether without encountering objections.

One became accustomed to regarding electro-magnetic fields as fundamentals of no mechanical nature. Moreover, they were still regarded, as heretofore, as conditions of the ether, which, however, could no longer be regarded as a form analogous to solid matter—all the less, since at the turn of the century the concept of the molecular structure of matter gained more and more ground.

Even though these electro-magnetic fields had established themselves as not mechanically comprehensible, fundamental substances, there still remained the question of the mechanical characteristics of their medium, the ether. H. A. Lorentz answered this by stating that all electro-magnetic facts force us to the conclusion that

ether is everywhere motionless as opposed to Cartesian and Newtonian space.

How close was the thought: The fields are conditions of space; space and ether are one and the same. That it was not realized lay in the fact that space, as the basis of Euclidean metric and Galileo-Newtonian inertia, was considered absolute; that is, incapable of being influenced. It was considered a rigid frame of the world, which, so to speak, existed before all physics and could not be the basis of changing conditions.

The next step in the development of the conception of space was that of the special theory of relativity. The law of the spreading of light in empty space in connection with the relativity principle regarding uniform movement resulted in the necessity that space-time be united in a single four-dimensional continuum. For it was recognized that reality did not conform with the conception of simultaneous events.

A Time Coordinate Used.

A Euclidean metric had to be ascribed, as Minkowski was the first clearly to recognize, to this four-dimensional space, which, by the use of an imaginary time coordinate, would be completely analogous to a metric of three-dimensional space of Euclidean geometry.

On the existence of a space structure expressible through Euclidean metric was founded the later development, which has become

known under the terms of "the general theory of relativity" and "the unified field theory."

After it has been realized that no absolute character could be ascribed, not only to speed but to acceleration, it was revealed that reality did not conform to the conception of an inertial system in nature.

It was clear that laws must be so formulated that this formulation could claim validity in a four-dimensional space in terms of every Gaussian system of coordinates—a general covariance of equations which express the laws of nature. This is the formal content of the general principle of relativity. Its force lies in the question: What are the simplest general equation systems of covariance?

This question in this generalization has not yet been productive. A statement has still to come as to the character of the structure of space. This is supplied by the special theory of relativity, the validity of which for small areas must be granted. That means: There is a structure of space which for the infinitesimal surroundings of every point can be expressed mathematically through a Euclidean metric. Or: Space possesses a Riemannian metric.

On the physical ground it was clear that this Riemannian metric also formed simultaneously the mathematical expression of the gravitational field.

The mathematical question corresponding to the gravitation problem was, therefore, this: What are the simplest mathematical conditions to which a Riemannian metric in four-dimensional space can be reduced? In this manner the field equations of gravitation of the general theory of relativity were found, which have received the well-known confirmations.

Space Loses Absoluteness.

The significance of this theory for the recognition of the structure of space can be characterized thus: Space under the general relativity theory loses its absolute character. Until that phase of the development, space was accepted as something the inner substance of which was not capable of being influenced and was in no wise changeable. Therefore, a special ether had to be accepted as a basis of the field conditions localized in empty space.

Now, however, the real quality of space, the metric structure, was

recognized as changeable and capable of being influenced. The condition of space gained a field character; space became analogous in structure to the electro-magnetic field. Separation of the concepts of space and ether was thus to a certain extent automatically removed after the special theory of relativity had already removed the last bit of substance from ether.

The general theory of relativity in its former shape would have been, from the logical standpoint, an ideal physical theory on account of its completeness, had there been only gravitational fields and no electro-magnetic fields in nature. The latter, however, could not be represented through Riemannian metric.

One had to seek a structure of greater richness of form which would encompass the Riemannian metric structure and at the same time be able mathematically to describe electro-magnetic fields. This task is to be solved through the unified field theory by the establishment of a space structure the mathematical characteristics of which are as follows:

P and P' are any two points of a continuum. PG and $P'G'$ are two line elements going out from these points.

The hypothesis of the metric structure states that the quality of the two line elements may be spoken of intelligently; more generally, that line elements are comparable in respect to their size. The Riemannian character of the metric is expressed by the hypothesis that the square of the size of the line element may be expressed by a homogeneous function of the second degree of differential coordinates.

On the other hand, a statement within the frame of Riemannian geometry about a direction relation, for example about the parallelism of the two line elements PG and $P'G'$, has no meaning. If the hypothesis is added that parallel relations of line elements can be intelligently spoken of, then one attains the formal basis of the unified field theory.

Space Representing Reality.

To attain completeness it is now only necessary to add the hypothesis that the angle between two line elements going out from the same point is not changed by a parallel movement of elements. The mathematical expression of the field law should be the simplest mathematical conditions to which such a space structure can be reduced.

The discovery of these laws appears to have been made and they correspond, in the first degree, in fact, with the known empirical

laws of gravitation and electricity. Whether these laws also supply a useful theory for particles of matter and their movements must be shown by further mathematical investigations.

Taken together we can say symbolically: Space, brought to light by the material object and raised to scientific reality by Newton, in the last few decades has swallowed up ether and time and is about to swallow up the field theory and the corpuscular theory as well, so that it will remain as the only theory representing reality.

The fact that Uncle Vindler's U.P. dispatches no longer appear looks as if he was coiled & also perhaps that a lot is now happening in India by way of tax refusals & immense lynchings. That all the ^{early} leaders are in jail mean that there will be some less embittered minds to help organize when the carnage is over. Perhaps the meeting of troops & police will come sooner than we expect.

Mr. James pointed out to me that the Gandhi has advanced over X, yet the whole world has

also advanced in discipline & cooperation, so Gandhi was able to make the advance.

June 18. The fact that Kieroy is now negotiating with Gandhi after having seen Jimm, other Mohammedans & Moderates show that Kieroy has learned that Simon Report is a flat failure & Mohammedans all are deserting to Gandhi. So he want to save British face before Vol II comes out.

Dispatches are pretending that the movement is waning so as to make it seem that Gandhi is inclining to compromise. But the ~~the~~ dispatches show that the movement is not weakening.

Macdonald in England is trying to
 cover the forthcoming financial
 & weakness in England by blaming
 them onto U.Y. & U.Y. is
 blaming it onto China. I
 wonder whether
~~it is~~ it is India. It's not
 the tariff law, as that was
 anticipated & discounted long ago.

18th Satel dispatch admits that congress
 leaders are undeterred by repression. Also
 that refusals are extending to Punjab,
 strongly. Police morale is weakening.
 Non-violence prevails (Chi. Trib). Signs
 picketing a huge success. The news is
 very scanty which indicates important
 developments. Either huge massacre or
 govt cave in, - troop or police mutinies,
 perhaps. The last seems to me most
 likely.

First Copies of NVR Book

- ✓ 1. A. Farnsworth } School
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Dr. Fordick ?

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Charles S. Johnson, Fiske University,
Prof. Warren S. Thompson, ^{also known as} population problem

20 Commercial Press, Shanghai

21 Gilbert Murray

22. (Jack Benny) editor

23. Albert Einstein

24 Fiske University Charles S. Johnson, Dept of Sociology

25 H. N. Bradford

26 Michelson

28. Pres. of Woman's College (New York)

This would make

2 labor leaders
1 labor library

3 2 negroes

+ Jew

(1 Chinese)

3 college presidents

8 teachers

14 ministers + 1 or
+ psychologist

2 doctors + psychologist
philosophers

2 psychologist

5 pacifists

1 lawyer + Sing J. Taper

1 political scientist

1 Socialist

1 anarchist

1 editor

2 journalists

9 writers of

articles or books

1 wealthy man
+ manufacturer

1 conventional
man

any response expected
as usual

(over)

Also the ~~small~~ book has been read
by one woman conventional peace person
(Mrs Forbes) & by Swain, a writer
& newspaper man. Also it is in hands
of World Tomorrow, a leading
pacifist journal. The small book
has gone to B. Shaw, Jane Addams
^{Mrs Forbes}
O. G. Villard, Ed of New Republic, Prof Davenport
J. N. Holmes, Alb Baldwin, Editor of
World Tomorrow, Miss Esther Harlan.

(3 women)

Prof. Douglas Clyde Munro,
25 Woodlawn St., New Haven, Conn.

Was in India in 1928. Dought Prof of Theology
Yale Univ.

Would like to get it to an economist, a psycho-
gist, Hamilton Holt, End Denny
Hamilton Holt - Winter Park, Fla. & Woodstock,
Conn.

At the beginning of the refusal of taxes the wealthy men will waver about Bismarck's policy. I believe. But the momentum will carry them, I believe, & it will eventually be a real social & economic revolution.

July 20. Probably Gort has found out she is mistaken about divisions in India, but she will now try to create them & will play that game hard for some months. But meanwhile the tax refusal & boycott will go on & hence the repression. Hence the sacrifice & hence the increasing unity & melting of opposition. So I think Gort will lose.

Krishnamurti says that "happiness lies, not in possessions, but in a harmony between the outer life and the life of the Spirit within".

When there is disharmony there is a sense of shame (fear?).

We must be patient with people who are learning to create this harmony, but we must steadily insist on more harmony. I.E. mere waiting is not enough. There must be steady ^{inner} ~~inner~~ ^{inner} play on idea of unity with God. ^{inner} show how so many of our ways are not ~~so~~ expressive of such unity but of division. We can't profitably give up material things until we care more for the other. As ~~was~~ Fox told Wm Penn,

a word "Was it as long as I
can't";

TOMORROW, MARCH, 1930

World Tomorrow

Good Cheer for Pacifists

NON-VIOLENCE as a means of asserting the right and contending for it has never been so well presented, in this reviewer's honest judgment, as in *The Psychology and Strategy of Gandhi's Non-Violent Resistance*, by Richard B. Gregg. Mr. Gregg, as many know, is a familiar observer of the Indian scene and author of "The Economics of Khaddar."

It will be good news indeed, judging from this sample, that he is at work upon a substantial volume developing in greater detail the ideas he has presented in this paper-covered booklet of 169 pages. Meantime, while we are obliged to wait, it is no exaggeration to say that any pacifist without the present booklet on his shelves and ready to his hand is like a carpenter without a T-square.

If anything has been needed to bring out the values of Gandhi's method, it has been their presentation in terms of modern western psychology. Occidentals must have things largely in their own manner, and Mr. Gregg has met them more than half way. But he uses no mere jargon, just for effect; he is widely read in the social sciences, he knows war and the ways of war, and instead of evading concrete issues he goes straight at them. His chapter heading "Non-Violent Resistance as a Method of War" will certainly startle some readers until they read him further; but one is really lifted out of his chair by the author's clear-cut logic and his irresistible way of turning against the upholders of war their own words and theories. It is a gorgeous piece of pacifist apologetics but more, a source of hope and faith in the evolution of pacifism into a widely used and generally recognized method crusading for social progress.

I dare anyone who thinks pacifist methods are vague nonsense to give this booklet a chance to work on him. And I hereby serve notice on all zealous pacifists that they have got to have this little book sooner or later, and they might just as well obtain it now. (Published in India by S. Ganesan, Madras. The World Tomorrow Book Shop will accept orders at \$1.00 per copy and deliver as soon as possible.)

D. A.

If you want to be truly
creative of fine things in human
life you must get into union
with God. This means that
you must have faith in his
power inside yourself & inside
others and from "above". It
means ~~steady~~ regular, frequent
prayer and meditation. It
means uniform courtesy. It
means ^{having} courage under all
circumstances. It means the
quality of life that ~~Besse~~
Gandhi's lives.

June 26. Certain Indians believe that
Gandhi ought to have withheld
Satyagraha until after the R.T.
conference was tried and failed.
I differ for reasons noted back

^{1st}
 about April ~~18~~. But ~~a~~ (see previous
 note book re conversation with Stokes).
 But now if they insist on going to
 the conference, they will come back
 empty-handed for their objections
 or pleas without Gandhiji present
 can carry no weight. But now
 the conference, if held, will be so
 silly that there will be no influ-
 ential ~~peop~~² Indians there to be
 bamboozled by British diplomacy.
 So England would hardly consider it
 worth while fooling with, and
 the Indian Moderates will trail
 home but find no welcome or
 leverage from which to work.
 They will then either have to
 join Gandhiji, go into retirement, or
 leave the country. As the
 situation now stands the Liberals &

Moderates are all dressed up but
nowhere to go.

When soldiers are brought in
under martial law the police
may be apt to relax their efforts
and shoulder the duty work onto
the soldiers, - that is if the police
morale is previously a bit strained.
The soldiers are not used to fighting
defenseless citizens and will not
like it. ~~they say that the~~

If the police are Indians and the
soldiers European and a bit brought
into action by the police would
be more likely. The presence of
the soldiers would stiffen the
police only if the devotion &
morale of the police is complete.
If the police thus shrink, the

soldiers may start quarrels with them on that account, and then there would be hell to pay with police morale in that district.

Sometimes it seems as if the British phrase about "genuine sympathy toward Indian aspirations" means apparently "we won't be rough unless you are naughty."

June 26. The World story today about Shaukat Ali on Simon Report looks as if he were fishing for a reconciliation with Congress leaders. His brother was colder toward the Report. I expect they will go over to Gandhi within another two months. Give 'em time to read the report more carefully.

The N.W. Frontier is a British
booby manufactured in order to have
an excuse for imposing $\frac{1}{3}$ of the
Br. army expense & training on
India. If N.V.R. will work
against English it will surely
work as a people so nearly like
the Indians as ~~as~~ the Afghans are.
Afghanistan would treat India well
for racial reasons, in order to keep
out England, and for trade ad-
vantages.

Simplicity ties up with a wise
control of overhead expense. Sound
adaptation of means to end.
Bapu's social and economic policy
is related to discipline for
satyagraha.

Common Raven at
Wellesley June 26, 1930

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"With the machine age has come a terrifying de-personalization of human relationships. Machine-made standards of value corrupt and debase the best things in the world, the sympathies and sensibilities of human life. I see the workings of the robot mind in it all and in all the conventions and rebellions of the younger generation. Their refusal of authority, their rebellion against the tenth commandment, against orthodoxy in statues and pictures, all evidence a protest against fixations—their flaming conviction that life is not static but dynamic, a revolt against a real and hideous peril to the soul of man; and more power to their elbow!

Man Above the Machine

"We have got somehow to discover how we can preserve those standards of value which unhesitatingly put the person above the machine. I am certain that the unrest, at least in my country, is not against wages or hours, but a fear amounting almost to panic, that they have got into the grip of forces blind, implacable, not to be controlled, from which they cannot escape—the fear which a bird feels that finds itself behind the bars. This condition cannot be adjusted by externals: we must change the minds of the people behind the machine before it is too late, to recall to them that life is not after all a question of the multitude of the things that men possess.

The only way to
avoid being corrupted
by subtle social
flatteries, honors,
dignities, etc is to
keep fast to the inner
yoga or Sadhana -
idea of spiritual unity
with all, and humil-
ity. Very difficult
to be truly humble
unless the outer way
of living is very simple

and similar to the life of the common
man of people or the truly lonely.

Perhaps Shaukat and Moham-
med Ali and some other Muslims
begin to have a dim feeling that
a civil war with Hindus would

as long as Bapu is alive, become
one of Satyagraha, and they
realise that they would be
worsted in such a struggle.
Perhaps ~~other~~ the Afghans and
Pathans will realise that,
and the Jirkhans also. If so,
India will be quite secure on the
N.W. boundary. Afghanistan will
not let Russia go through.
Russia might for awhile be
more hostile to India, because of
Satyagraha, than any other
nation. N.V.R. will solve all communal
problems.

Is machinery partly the
result of a conviction or attitude
which demands that all
thought shall not only be
externalised i.e. ~~made~~ given

material form which is perceptible to the senses, but also a non-human form? A turning away from man to the world outside man. Cf. European Renaissance. Indian attitude creates a wealth of inner contemplation & satisfaction, and has its outward manifestation of thought more in human relationships.

Shankar Ali's reaction to the S. Report shows also that he realizes that without Hindu support in a conference the Muslims cannot win anything from Britain.

The phrase "vindicate the law" is
amusing. The law certainly needs
vindication most of the time,
for it is an expression of violence.
∴ It cannot get support from
men's consciences.

Mrs. Matilda Nelson's line
"Jails are holy places - God
 Krishna was born there."

Mahalinga, head of Maharashtra
group, has taken Rs 10,000 to
help sufferers at Dahanu, mostly
Mohammedans. T. G. Patil will
help head the march.

What Tories mean when they
say that law & order must be
restored before they negotiate is

that everyone must acknowledge the
 supremacy of govt (i.e. violent
 force) before making any negotia-
 tions. N.V.R. takes the wind out
 of their sails, because it refuses to
 make such an acknowledgment &
 yet keeps the peace all on its side,
 & compels govt to do all the
 violence & thus show up the real
 nature of its "law & order".
 Cf. in cases of India & labor struggles

I must be careful never to do something
 contrary to my own conscience or belief
 just because I am asked to do it on
 behalf of someone else. Before at the
 start when asked, if it involves such
 mistaken action.

The fact that all Tories say that
 the primary and essential function of

government" is the maintenance of
law & order, it ^{is strong indication} ~~proves~~ that govt
is chiefly an organized instrument
of violence. ~~If govt were non-~~
~~violent~~ One would have thought that
the primary & essential function of
govt is service of the people.
That would be so in a non-violent
govt, and helping & showing the
people how to observe non-violence
would be the ~~chief~~ primary &
essential function of government,
for it is the only way to
maintain true peace & true order
(not that which can be prostituted
to uphold a certain system of
exploitation).

The utterances of Bismarck, Lord
Russell & Mr. Baldwin given in

Bombay Chronicle at end of May
 show clearly that the purpose of
 the R. T. Conference ^{act as safety valve only} was to ^{act as} bifurcate
 & antagonize different Indian groups,
 in order to put across anything govt
 wanted & then claim to the world that
 India has agreed to it.

If you accept govt office it
 means you accept the principles
 upon which govt is founded &
 then you are discredited & cooped up for
 the rest. You have compromised your
 honor & conscience from the first

H. J. L.'s article in Current History
 commends very well with Simon Report.

June 28 The reason why Gandhi can
mix religion & politics is because
~~his~~ his type of State would be
non-violent, & all his tactics are
non-violent & truthful, whereas
politics elsewhere is all deceptive &
founded on violence.

It is amusing to see the Dr.
Labour party thinking that it is
effectively ~~op~~ opposing capitalism
& yet all the time supporting
violence in the army etc. U.V.R.
is the ~~only~~ best way to fight
capitalism.

If workmen understood the ideas
that lie behind machinery & capitalism
they could fight them both.

The ~~new~~ development of Ford
scrapping old cars is quite signif.

can't, I believe feel, but I must figure it out. It relates partly to overhead cost & the ^{problems} cost of maintenance & replacement.

In international exchange, money is like the weight in a balance or scale. So if the money is manipulated also in its weight (value) then we have false weighing. If Indian rupee as manipulated by Eng. financiers

✓ Perhaps it will be wise in revising the MVR book to cut out the second ecological example, as it is speculative. Some of those animal epidemics may come because a food shortage compels animals to eat stuff that is bad for them, e.g. moose eating bark, ^{a twig} instead of kinds of shrubs.

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